

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

ATTORNEY GENERAL DEFIES FEDERAL JUDGE

Despite high court
rebuff,
Bell
refuses
to give
up spy
files



—PAGE 3

THE GREAT CALIFORNIA TAX SWINDLE

- Tax the rich, not working people
- Stop the layoffs and cutbacks

—PAGE 6

Answer Illinois ERA defeat— ALL OUT JULY 9!

—PAGE 5

Young Socialists discuss rise in student protests

—PAGE 14

Blanco freed by international protests

Exiled Peruvian
safe in Sweden

—PAGE 3

The following statement was released by Illinois Socialist Workers Party candidates Pat Grogan, running for U.S. Senate, and Cecil Lampkin, running for governor, after the June 7 defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment in Illinois.

Standing in the front ranks—that's where working people of Illinois belong when supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment march on Washington July 9 in the demonstration called by the National Organization for Women.

A majority of Illinois voters support the ERA. Seventy-two percent in Chicago alone, according

As the 'Militant' goes to press, the Illinois House of Representatives voted June 14 to consider a new resolution to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment. A vote is expected within a few days.

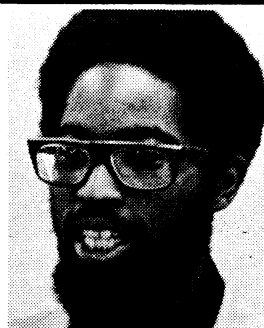
to the polls. And eighty-five percent of the city's Black population.

But on June 7—for the sixth straight time—the Democratic and Republican parties defied the will of this majority and voted down equal rights for women.

They may have succeeded in defeating the ERA in the House, but they have not—and will not—defeat the equal rights struggle in this state. Or nationwide.

Across the country ERA supporters are joining with trade unionists, Blacks, students, and others to march shoulder to shoulder July 9.

We saw a display of the kind of unity we can achieve July 9 this past week in Illinois. Leaders of the Black community and women's groups united to condemn the entire Illinois legislature for the ERA's defeat. They rejected attempts to



LAMPKIN



GROGAN

blame the defeat on the Black community and thereby divide ERA supporters, repudiating a media campaign to single out the abstentions of five Black legislators as the reason for the "no" vote.

It is the Democratic and Republican party machines—dedicated to upholding profit and privileges for a tiny minority—that are responsible for the defeat of the ERA. Just as they are responsible—with the wink of the Carter administration—for stalling the ERA nationwide.

Illinois shows once again that women's rights supporters cannot trust these politicians to give us the ERA—or to give us the much-needed extension of the 1979 ratification deadline.

We must win these ourselves, through our own independent movement.

There is no better place to start than in Washington July 9.

Making this march for women's rights—for human rights—as big and broad as possible is the best way to answer what the Democrats and Republicans have done in Illinois.

All out for July 9!

Say no to Nazis

A group of Nazis plans to march through the heavily Jewish town of Skokie, Illinois, June 25 (see page 5).

An anti-Nazi counterdemonstration called by a coalition of Jewish groups has begun to pick up significant support, most recently from the Chicago Federation of Labor.

The *Militant* urges our readers to participate in this anti-Nazi protest. Although this band of Hitler admirers is small, isolated, and likely to remain so, their violent activities and racist, anti-Semitic ravings must not go unanswered.

Small groups of Nazi thugs have spurred attacks on Blacks in Chicago's Marquette Park area, publicly taken credit for bombing a Socialist Workers Party headquarters in Los Angeles, and threatened the democratic rights of many other people.

Recently the Nazis and other right-wing groups have taken heart at the stepped-up drive by the government and employers against the rights of Blacks, women, and other working people. A big show of force in Skokie will show them that the American people won't stand by calmly while racists and fascists ride the crest of this reactionary offensive.

Unionists, feminists, Black and Chicano activists, gay rights supporters, students—all have a stake in showing their support to the Skokie Jewish community by marching June 25.

Panama si, Carter no

When President Carter arrives in Panama June 16, opponents of U.S. domination over that country plan to greet him with demonstrations. Slogans such as "Carter go home!" and "Panama sí, Carter no!" are already spraypainted on walls throughout Panama City.

The depth of this popular sentiment was shown June 10 when 100,000 people turned out to welcome back exiled former President Arnulfo Arias Madrid. The *New York Times* called it "the largest anti-Government demonstration in a decade" and said the crowd "cheered wildly" when Arias attacked the new canal treaties and dictator Gen. Omar Torrijos.

Commenting on Carter's trip, Panamanian Trotskyist leader Miguel Antonio Bernal told the *Times*: "By coming here, Carter is returning Torrijos's favor of accepting treaties that were so negative for Panama. Carter is coming to bless the Torrijos dictatorship just one week after its repudiation in the reception for Dr. Arias."

The following letter to the Panamanian people was released to the press by Peter Camejo, the 1976 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

* * *

On June 16 President Carter will arrive in your country. Claiming to speak in the name of the American people, he will hail the Panama Canal treaties, which aim to legitimize the occupation of your country by U.S. troops.

But there are two Americas here in the United States—just as there are two Americas in this hemisphere. One America, represented by Carter, is the America of the Panama Canal treaties, the America of the Vietnam War and the invasion of Santo Domingo, the America of the Bay of Pigs invasion and CIA "destabilization" against Chile and the Cuban revolution. It is the America of the capitalist class.

The other America is the America of the Black and Chicano liberation struggles and the anti-Vietnam War movement. It is the America of the coal miners, who earlier this year told Carter that his antilabor injunctions wouldn't mine coal. It is the America of the U.S. working class.

In the name of that America, we in the Socialist Workers Party want to express our opposition to the new treaties, which preserve the imperialist domination of your country. We especially want to express our opposition to the U.S. military occupation and the U.S. control of the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone.

We hope that, despite the repression of the Torrijos regime, you will be able to mount massive demonstrations to tell Carter what you think of him and his canal treaty. We pledge our continued solidarity with your fight against imperialist domination and for full national sovereignty.

All U.S. troops and bases out of Panama!
Panama for the Panamanians!

'Good citizenship'

Carter awarded the first medal of honor in his "war on inflation" June 12.

Bethlehem Steel's move to increase prices by 3 percent was proclaimed a "first-rate example of good corporate citizenship" by Carter's counselor on inflation, Robert Strauss.

It was Bethlehem's third price hike this year, bringing the total to 8.5 percent.

Bethlehem pledged not to raise prices again during 1978 . . . "barring unforeseen circumstances and assuming that inflationary pressures are brought under control."

Strauss dubbed the 3 percent increase "a major breakthrough." Sure enough, one day later National Steel announced it would raise prices by 3 percent. National said it too hoped further 1978 "pricing action" would be unnecessary.

That's a lot of malarkey, but the Carter administration doesn't care. The purpose of its bombast about "good corporate citizenship" is to make the case for "equality of sacrifice."

As usual, the only casualties are working people. Carter has declared that wage increases for federal employees can go no higher than 5.5 percent barring nothing, foreseen or unforeseen. That means a real wage cut, since inflation is soaring at the rate of 10 percent.

The contract thrown at New York municipal workers earlier this month offered 5.5 percent *over the next two years*.

And it's not just benefits and wages—workers' safety and health on the job are under attack too. Under the guise of fighting inflation by cutting business costs, Carter has launched a drive to curb federal regulation of industry.

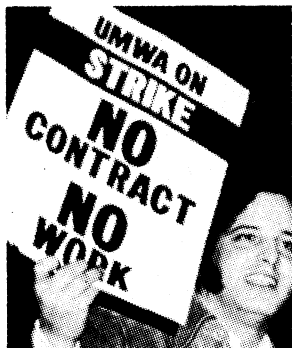
The most recent example is Carter's effort to sabotage the decade-long fight for brown lung controls in the textile industry. Federal regulations were delayed—then "revised"—because of their cost to the textile bosses. And it was all billed as part of the "war on inflation."

But the modest government regulations workers have won to help protect their lives are not the cause of inflation. Nor are workers' struggles for higher wages and adequate cost-of-living escalators, which are attempts to *catch up* with rising prices.

The biggest *guarantee* of inflation is Carter's war budget, financed by federal deficit spending. Getting rid of that monster would go a long way toward abolishing inflation.

Militant Highlights This Week

- 3 Socialist suit
- 5 Anti-Nazi march
- 6 Proposition 13
- 7 France out of Africa
- 8 Rise of peace movement
- 9 Esmail sentenced
- 10 Socialists & mine strike
- 12 OSHA on W. Va. disaster
- 14 Young Socialists meet
- 16 'Militant' sales
- 22 Can capitalism survive?
- 4 Marching Toward July 9
- 13 National Picket Line
- 24 In Brief
- What's Going On
- 25 The Great Society Union Talk
- 26 Our Revolutionary Heritage Letters
- 27 Learning About Socialism If You Like This Paper . . .
- WORLD OUTLOOK
- 19 Workers strike in Brazil
- 20 Dominican elections
- 21 World News Notes



Assessing the miners' strike

The biggest working-class battle in three decades was proclaimed a defeat by Spartacist League and Workers League. Where did these sectarians go wrong? **Page 10.**

Report from Dominican Republic

An interview with two revolutionary socialists in Santo Domingo explains significance of attempted coup and electoral defeat of Balaguer regime. **Page 20.**



The new peace movement

Demonstrations are growing against U.S. nuclear bombs and nuclear power. What is the significance of this new struggle? **Page 8.**

The Militant

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Managing Editor: STEVE CLARK
Business Manager: ANDREA BARON
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING

Editorial Staff: Peter Archer, Nancy Cole, David Frankel, John Hawkins, Cindy Jaquith, Shelley Kramer, Ivan Licho, Omari Musa, José G. Pérez, Dick Roberts, Andy Rose, Priscilla Schenk, Peter Seidman, Diane Wang, Arnold Weissberg

Published weekly by the Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: (212) 243-6392. Business Office: (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 404, Los Angeles, California 90017. Telephone: (213) 482-3184.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S. \$15.00 a year, outside U.S. \$20.50. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$42.50. Write for surface and airmail rates to all other countries.

For subscriptions airfreighted to London then posted to Britain and Ireland: £2.50 for ten issues; £5.50 for six months (twenty-four issues); £10 for one year (forty-eight issues). Posted from London to Continental Europe: £4 for ten issues; £8 for six months (twenty-four issues); £13 for one year (forty-eight issues). Send checks or international money orders (payable to *Intercontinental Press* account) to: *Intercontinental Press* (The Militant), P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP, England.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

Bell defies judge on spy files

High court rejects gov't appeal in SWP suit

By Diane Wang

NEW YORK—On June 13 Attorney General Griffin Bell, the nation's top law enforcement official, declared himself above the law. In a sworn affidavit, Bell refused to obey a federal court order to turn over files on eighteen FBI informers to attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The day before, on June 12, the Supreme Court had refused, by a vote of six to three, to hear the government's appeal on its "right" to keep the spy files secret. The informer files have become a major issue in the SWP and YSA's \$40 million lawsuit against government spying and disruption.

"The Supreme Court's decision is a dramatic reflection of the massive sentiment in this country against Watergating," said Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund. PRDF is building support for the socialist suit. "And it is also a big victory for the right of the American people to know the truth about government crimes."

A hearing on the suit held here June 13 was packed with reporters, courtroom artists, and observers. Millions saw reports of the events on television that evening.

District Court Judge Thomas Griesa, who is presiding over the case, called Bell's refusal to produce the evidence "a naked exercise of power beyond the rule of law."

Leonard Boudin, attorney for the SWP and YSA, condemned Bell's stance.

"I have never seen an attorney general—the chief law enforcement officer of the United States, sworn to uphold and obey the law—defy a federal judge."

Bell's open defiance of the ruling shows how desperate the government is to keep evidence about its secret

police—and, in particular, about the crimes of its snitches—under wraps.

Bell could be cited for contempt of court; he could be jailed and the government fined. Yet the Carter administration has decided to risk that rather than release the files of eighteen informers.

The 18 are a tiny sample of the 1,300 informers that the FBI used against the socialists over a sixteen-year period.

The SWP and YSA have carried out a four-year legal battle for evidence about the informers. The FBI had previously submitted sworn answers about informers for the lawsuit. But those answers turned out to be incomplete and false.

Judge Griesa ordered the FBI to show the complete files of eighteen informers to the SWP's attorneys as the only way to begin getting the necessary evidence on the informer network.

In a speech last month FBI Director William Webster explained that informers are "the most effective tool of law enforcement today." In the June 13 affidavit Bell echoed that claim.

Turning over even eighteen files to just a few attorneys would be dangerous, Bell complained. "Such action would signal to other informants and potential informants that the United States would not or could not continue to honor the pledge of confidentiality which has been the cornerstone of its relationship with informants," he said.

Hauling informers before court to account for their crimes would be a signal. A signal that the so-called informers' privilege can no longer guarantee a cover-up of their crimes.

Informers have been the undercover army to do the dirty work the government doesn't want to be caught doing: burglarizing offices and homes, planting illegal wiretaps, sending poison-



NBC-TV courtroom sketch of socialists' attorney Leonard Boudin speaking to Judge Thomas Griesa.

pen letters, disrupting organizations, and even physically attacking political dissidents.

That's why President Carter's attorney general is risking jail to defend their secrecy.

Bell's affidavit notes, "The Government is a party to many cases in which issues are raised relating to privileged information. Such cases include several cases similar to this case as well as many cases brought under the Freedom of Information Act." He worries that releasing the eighteen files in the SWP and YSA suit would set a precedent.

Forcing the release of the files would set a major precedent. It would be a big victory for civil liberties. The American people have a right to see the truth

about their government's political police.

On June 20 the SWP and YSA will file papers asking Judge Griesa to cite Bell for contempt of court, to jail him for that contempt, and to make the government pay damages for withholding the evidence.

Boudin explained to NBC-TV after the June 13 hearing, "I think the imprisonment aspect will present to the public and to the rest of the executive branch the clear issue of disobedience to law by the man who is sworn to enforce the law."

On June 27 Judge Griesa will consider the socialists' motion. That hearing will be held at the U.S. Courthouse in New York's Foley Square at 3:00 p.m.

Worldwide protests win Hugo Blanco's release

By José G. Pérez

In a major victory, international protests have forced the Argentine military junta to free imprisoned peasant leader Hugo Blanco and twelve other Peruvians.

Blanco and the others had been handed over to the brutal Argentine dictatorship on May 25 by Peruvian authorities, who flew the thirteen out of Peru in the midst of a nationwide labor upsurge. Nine of the deportees are candidates in the constituent assembly elections scheduled for June 18 in Peru.

On June 12, the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees reported that three of the deportees, including Blanco, had already left Argentina. Blanco went to Sweden and the others to France. Five others had received Mexican visas and permission

to leave and were waiting for transportation.

Three of the Peruvians—the two former cabinet ministers and the editor of a right-wing weekly—accepted asylum in Argentina.

The remaining two, who were also granted asylum in Argentina, had chosen not to stay there and had requested visas to go to other countries.

"This is an important victory," said Mike Kelly, executive secretary of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. USLA has been the main group in the United States campaigning around the cases of the Peruvians.

"Once again we've seen how even the most repressive regimes can be forced to bow to international pro-

tests," he said. "We must keep up this pressure to assure safe passage for the deportees still trying to leave Argentina and to free the hundreds of political prisoners jailed in Peru in recent weeks."

Support for the Peruvians deported to Argentina was especially strong from the international labor movement and working-class parties.

In Portugal, fifty-four Socialist Party parliamentary deputies, two Communist Party deputies, and others were among signers of a protest message to the Argentine government.

Felipe Gonzales, general secretary of the Social Democratic Spanish Socialist Workers Party, the largest party in Spain, joined the protests. François Mitterand, first secretary of the French Socialist Party, sent a message de-

manding safe conduct for the deportees to a country of their choice, as did scores of local unions.

In the United States, messages were sent on behalf of the United Auto Workers by UAW International President Douglas Fraser, and on behalf of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union by Publicity Director Gerry Archuleta.

Prominent individuals in the United States also spoke out. These include Zavala County Judge José Angel Gutiérrez of the Texas Raza Unida Party; Prof. Herbert Marcuse, University of California at San Diego; Tom Spiro, national secretary of the Socialist Party, USA; and many others.

USLA also sponsored picket lines and other protests, including actions in New York, San Diego, and Detroit.

Special offer to new readers

The Militant—10 weeks/\$2

The *Militant* takes sides: for democratic rights and against the FBI, for women against anti-abortion and anti-ERA bigots, for working people against cutbacks and union busting. For weekly coverage on the side of working people subscribe to the *Militant*.



'How many times do I have to explain, Henderson? There are good guys and there are bad guys and no matter how it looks we're still the good guys!'

Subscribe today

() \$2 for ten issues (new readers only)
() \$8.50 for six months () \$15 for one year
() New () Renewal

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014

Minnesota: labor backs ERA march

By Gayle Swann

MINNEAPOLIS—At a press conference here June 12, leaders of the Minnesota National Organization for Women announced labor support for NOW's July 9 national march for the Equal Rights Amendment in Washington, D.C. Three television stations and three radio stations covered the event.

NOW activist Ginny Burke reported that the state AFL-CIO; United Auto Workers sub-region 10; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Council 6; United Electrical Workers Local 1139; Teamsters Joint Council 32; and Minnesota Federation of Teachers have all extended support to the national ERA march.

The labor movement and women's movement "have a natural alliance as we have common problems and experiences," explained Virginia Watkins, NOW's Midwest regional director.

"And we have common opponents. It is no coincidence that of the fifteen states that have not ratified the ERA, the bulk of them are the so-called right-to-work states.

"United we can build a better world," Watkins said, "and I will work to strengthen this alliance between the women's movement and organized labor."

Watkins read a letter sent by David Rowe, president of the state AFL-CIO, to federation members in Minnesota. In the letter Rowe called for active union support—including financial contributions—to the July 9 march.

Pittsburgh: campus NOW builds for July 9

By Ginny Hildebrand

PITTSBURGH—"Do you support women's rights?" "Are you interested in the national march for the Equal Rights Amendment?" These questions greet many people on the streets here. The greeters are often members of the Pittsburgh campus chapter of the National Organization for Women.

They are armed with leaflets advertising the July 9 march for the ERA called by national NOW.

This recently organized NOW chapter began its pre-march activities at the University of Pittsburgh. During the week of Mother's Day it showed "How We Won the Vote," a documentary film of the women's suffrage movement.

In addition, the chapter began publicizing the national march to new-term students by distributing ERA materials from literature tables set up on the campuses.

NOW members are planning to set up ERA information tables on Saturdays in many sections of the city. During a recent arts festival here, members of Campus NOW, Squirrel Hill NOW, and First Pittsburgh NOW distributed leaflets, sold ERA buttons, and signed up dozens more volunteers.

All of these activities are part of a broader effort by the Pittsburgh Coalition for the ERA Extension. The newly formed coalition is supported by the Southwest Council of Pennsylvania NOW Chapters; Americans for Democratic Action (ADA); YWCA of Greater Pittsburgh; Pittsburgh branch of the

NAACP; Socialist Workers Party; Pittsburgh Neighborhood Alliance; Mid-Atlantic Region of the National Assembly of Women Religious; and more than a dozen other groups.

Organizations backing the coalition are sending out 10,000 July 9 leaflets to their members. The coalition has also mailed a special appeal to trade unionists, urging their active participation in the national march.

Linda Wambaugh, coordinator for the coalition's outreach activities and cochair of Campus NOW's political action committee, told the *Militant*: "People realize that we're forced to show that large, large numbers of people support the ERA. Even though the right-wing opponents of our rights are small, their public activities and the media attention they get is way out of proportion to their real size.

"The July 9 march will go a long way in showing that the ERA supporters are the majority—the determined majority."

Raleigh: women march for abortion rights

By Jeff Miller

RALEIGH, N.C.—One hundred women and supporters marched and rallied at North Carolina's capitol here on June 3 to demand Medicaid funds for abortions.

The protest, initiated by the Raleigh chapter of the National Organization for Women, came as legislators prepare to decide if funding will continue after June 30.

North Carolina is one of only seventeen states and the District of Columbia still providing abortion funds for poor women. Last January the state Social Services Commission decided to maintain funding until the general assembly met this month.

"A vote against Medicaid is a vote against Black and poor women," said Clarissa Bond of the North Carolina State University Association for Women Students. "It is a vote against all women."

Jerri Wise, Raleigh NOW president, said that the pro-choice rally grew out of a recent NOW meeting on abortion. More than fifty women had been attracted to that discussion. There a proposal for a demonstration had been overwhelmingly approved.

NOW leaflets at the rally called on women to go to Washington, D.C., on July 9 for the national demonstration to ratify the ERA. More than twenty women signed up on the spot.

Other rally speakers included Alice Pettyjohn of the Raleigh Rape Crisis Center, and Dr. Paul Fleming, director of a local clinic.

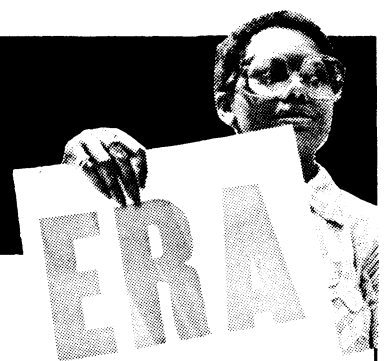
The rally also heard messages of support from Jim Grant, one of the Charlotte Three defendants; Women's Equity Action League, Women Against Violence Against Women, and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

On June 3 about 200 people demonstrated for abortion rights in San Diego at an action called by the National Organization for Women.

That same day in New York, 200 abortion rights supporters picketed the so-called Right to Life headquarters. The picket was called by the Coalition for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse.

Marching toward July 9

The National Organization for Women is sponsoring a national march on Washington for the Equal Rights Amendment on July 9.



Schlaflly picketed in New Jersey

About 300 people picketed Phyllis Schlafly, leader of Stop ERA, when she spoke in Morristown, New Jersey, on June 10. The picket included members of NOW, the League of Women Voters, United Methodist Women, and other groups.

The New Jersey *Star-Ledger* quoted Connie Gilbert-Neiss, secretary of NOW-New Jersey about two reasons for the protest:

"The first," she said, "was to show Mrs. Schlafly that we outnumber them and the second was to invite all our friends and ERA supporters to our Washington, D.C., rally on July 9."



Militant/Eric Hildebrand

Meat Cutters union leader: 'Join me July 9'

Leon Schachter, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, has written to his union's District 2 locals urging "unions to support the march by turning out as many people as possible. . . .

"If ERA goes down to defeat," Schachter wrote, "it will be a severe setback for the labor movement and another victory for the right wing crowd that seeks to perpetuate sexist discrimination. . . . At this critical point, it is more important than ever that we be present in significant numbers to pressure Congress into granting the extension [of the ERA ratification deadline]. I will be marching in Washington on July 9th and I hope you will join me as part of the Meat Cutters contingent. We encourage local unions to bring signs and banners."

'Daily News' takes note

The June 12 *New York Daily News* reported that at a recent Hollywood fundraiser for the ERA hosted by Marlo Thomas, "Bella Abzug was also there, urging all ERAers to flock to Washington July 9 for a women's march down Pennsylvania Ave."

Endorsement grows and grows

On June 7 the Cincinnati Central Labor Council voted to endorse the July 9 march and donate \$100 for the action. Council President William Sheehan urged the yes vote.

The Washington Teachers Union, Local 6 of the American Federation of Teachers, voted unanimously to endorse, encourage all members to participate, and have its delegates to the Central Labor Council seek endorsement from that body.

The Communications Workers of America Local 2080 in Denver endorsed and donated \$200; District 3 International Union of Electrical Workers endorsed and is including leaflets for July 9 in packets for its June 14 conference. District 9 of the United Steelworkers of America has endorsed, as has USWA Local 12243 in New Jersey. USWA Local 1870 in Cincinnati backed its endorsement with a \$100 donation.

On June 11 the Kentucky Women's Agenda Coalition meeting voted to endorse and enthusiastically build the national march. The group is a statewide group including about two dozen groups, such as NOW, the Women's Political Caucus, American Association of University Women, the Reproductive Freedom League, and the Pro-ERA Alliance.

St. Louis buses advertise march

On June 8, ads went up on the sides of St. Louis buses declaring: "National March July 9 Washington, D.C. for Equal Rights Amendment." The ad includes the local phone number of NOW for those who want more information about the march.

'How We Got the Vote'

How We Got the Vote is a fifty-five-minute film narrated by Jean Stapleton describing the suffragists' militant struggle. Many have found it useful for inspiring people about women's current struggles. The film is available from several distributors, including:

- Visual Aides Services, University of Illinois, 1325 South Oak Street, Champaign, Illinois 61820. Phone: (217) 333-1361.
- Audio-Visual Services, Penn State University, Special Services Building, University Park, Pennsylvania 16802. Phone: (814) 865-6314.
- Budget Film, 4590 Santa Monica Blvd., Los Angeles, California 90029. Phone: (213) 660-0187.

—Diane Wang

Who killed the ERA in Illinois?

By John Hawkins

For the sixth time in seven years the Illinois state legislature refused June 7 to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment. The 101-to-64 vote fell 6 short of the 107 needed to make Illinois the thirty-sixth state to ratify.

Reporting the legislature's failure to pass the ERA, the capitalist media have pointed the finger of blame at five Black state representatives from Chicago.

"Black rift blamed for ERA failure," read the headline of an article in the June 9 Chicago *Sun-Times*.

"The Equal Rights Amendment was killed by the Illinois House Wednesday after five Black Chicago legislators withheld their votes," declared the lead of the Chicago *Tribune's* June 8 report.

The five—four Democrats and a Republican—had voted previously for the ERA. They abstained, however, on the June 7 vote as part of a dispute over a legislative post.

According to the *Sun-Times* the five, all members of the House Black Caucus, were miffed that another Black Democrat, Rep. James Taylor, was permitted to become a cosponsor of the ratification bill. Taylor had voted against the ERA a year ago.

Taylor, they say, is using the ERA in a bid for the job of "House Black leader." The five want a say in who will get that post.

They object to Taylor because, they say, he is "under the control of the [Democratic Party] machine."

"To use his capitulation on ERA to project him into ascendancy... was a slap in the face of the black caucus," said one of the five.

So, as a protest, the five abstained on the ratification vote.

The capitalist media and the Illinois Democratic Party have used the abstention to whip up a campaign aimed at dividing the pro-ERA movement.

Aside from the five Black representatives, seven other state legislators—five Democrats and two Republicans—abstained. Sixty-four of the Illinois lawmakers—eighteen Democrats and forty-six Republicans—opposed the proposal to ratify. But only the Blacks who abstained are being blamed for this year's ERA defeat!

This scapegoating operation has two aims. One, to divert attention from the fact that it is the entire Illinois legislature and its Democratic majority in particular who have blocked to ERA. Two, to give the impression that Blacks oppose the ERA.

Fortunately ERA supporters in Chicago—Black and white—are working to counter this divisive attack. At a recent meeting sponsored by Operation PUSH, representatives of several pro-ERA groups adopted a statement laying the blame for the defeat on the legislature as a whole and vowing a stepped-up campaign for ERA's passage.

Although the five Black legislators were not themselves responsible for the ERA's defeat in Illinois, their abstention on the vote was a blow both to the women's movement and to Blacks.

A recent statewide poll in Illinois indicates majority support for the ERA. Seventy-two percent of those

polled in Chicago supported the amendment, and among Blacks the figure rose to 85 percent.

Clearly the five legislators were far out of step with those who put them in office, and especially with Black women, who have most to gain from ratification of the ERA.

The trap the five representatives fell into—at the expense of the Black community and women—is a classic case of how the two-party system works. You can't be in the Democratic or Republican parties—which represent the interests of big business, not working people—and effectively represent the needs of the majority.

The experience with the ERA in Illinois shows that the Black, women's, and labor movements need to break out of the two-party trap. They need a new kind of politics that places human needs above all other considerations. A kind that is independent of both the Democrats and Republicans and their horse-trading manipulation.

This experience also underlines the importance of the upcoming July 9 ERA March on Washington—a good example of the kind of political action, independent of the two big-business parties, that can help win the ERA and other demands.

The bipartisan defeat of the ERA in Illinois shows that the two-party system cannot serve Blacks, women, or labor. What's needed instead is independent political action at the polls—in support of candidates of the Black movement and labor movement who could challenge the two-party monopoly.

Chicago Labor Federation backs anti-Nazi march

By Malik Miah

CHICAGO—Support is growing for a counterdemonstration to be held at the same time as a planned Nazi march through suburban Skokie June 25.

On June 12 the U.S. Supreme Court rejected a request by Skokie city officials to postpone the Nazi march.

The Nazis, however, are clearly frightened that they will be outmobiled by anti-Nazi demonstrators in Skokie. They say in a statement, "We will cancel the Skokie demonstration if we are immediately granted our right to speech and assembly in Chicago parks."

Currently the Chicago Park District requires a \$60,000 insurance bond before any demonstration can be held in city parks. The Nazis want to hold a march on the Southwest Side in Marquette Park, where open-housing protests by Black organizations have been attacked by racist mobs. A federal hearing is scheduled for June 20 to decide on this issue.

The anti-Nazi counterdemonstration in Skokie was called by the Jewish Federation of Greater Chicago, an umbrella organization of Jewish groups. It has already received a march and rally permit for the peaceful protest.

The most significant endorsement for the Skokie counterdemonstration came June 6 at a meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor. The CFL embraces more than 460,000 AFL-CIO members in the Chicago area.

The resolution said in part, "We encourage the members of organized labor to join with all other defenders of democracy, freedom, and equality in peaceful assembly in Skokie, Illinois, on June 25, 1978, as a demonstration of our abhorrence of the programs and policies of those who are attempting to revive the vicious racial and anti-trade union philosophy of Adolph Hitler and the Nazi Party of Germany."

It is the prospect of tens of thousands of trade unionists, Jews, Blacks, and other anti-Nazi demonstrators marching in Skokie June 25 that has struck a deadly fear in the Nazis. That is why Nazi leader Frank Collin and his cohorts hope to move the march to Marquette Park.

Supporters of Cecil Lampkin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, are actively urging workers and students to join the counterdemonstration. Socialists in the trade unions are taking the CFL resolution to their locals and lodges for endorsement and to organize participation in the counteraction. Students in the Young Socialist Alliance are talking to campus leaders and activists about the anti-Nazi march.

"It is only by reaching out to the labor movement, Blacks, Chicanos, and the women's and student movements that a mass response can be organized against the Nazis," Lampkin said, "Only in this way can we build an effective campaign that can isolate the Nazis and prevent them from carrying out their violent goals."

"This is why the Socialist Workers Party will be in Skokie June 25."

The counterdemonstration will assemble at Niles Township East High School in Skokie at 12 noon.

Women, Black leaders repulse divide-and-conquer attack on ERA

By Marie Cobbs and Suzanne Haig

CHICAGO—Black and women leaders have joined forces here in response to the June 7 defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment by the Illinois House. Angered by a media campaign aimed at blaming the ERA's defeat on Blacks, fifty women attended a June 12 emergency meeting called by Operation PUSH, the Chicago-based civil rights group.

The meeting was a powerful rebuff to distorted press accounts of the ERA's defeat, which tried to use the fact that five Black representatives abstained on the ERA vote to portray the Black community as anti-ERA and thereby split the women's rights movement. (See above story.)

Those attending the meeting included representatives of the National Organization for Women; Amalgamated Meat Cutters; Chicago Committee for the ERA; Alliance of Black Feminists; League of Women Voters; League of Black Women; and ERA Illinois.

"We have been victimized by the strategy of divide and conquer," said Addie Wyatt, an Amalgamated Meat Cutters official and national vice-president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. "This crisis has brought us together, and now we must move forward united."

Rev. Willie Barrow, a PUSH leader, also addressed the meeting. "Neither the Democratic nor Republican parties want the ERA in Illinois," Barrow told the *Militant* in a telephone interview. "The Democratic Party killed the ERA by making it a political football."

At a meeting a statement to the media was drafted and unanimously adopted. Mujeres Latinas, another



'Unite to win ERA' urged leaders (from left to right) Rev. Willie Barrow, Addie Wyatt, and Betty Friedan

women's organization, later endorsed the statement as well.

"We are outraged with the defeat of the ERA in Illinois last week in the House," the statement reads. "At a time when we have the possibility to build a massive movement to win the ERA, we condemn any attempts to divide the pro-ERA movement."

"Now, more than ever, a united response is needed from women, the Black community, labor, all pro-ERA groups to show that we are in fact the majority."

Several speakers at the meeting urged women—especially Black women—to converge on Springfield if the ERA comes up for a vote again this legislative session.

Meanwhile, hundreds of people rallied in Peoria, Illinois, on June 9 to protest the legislature's vote. Betty Friedan addressed the rally. Interviewed by the *Militant*, Friedan blasted the attempts here to divide pro-ERA forces. "Unity between all groups is important. The entire reactionary onslaught is against women, labor, Blacks, and minorities. If [ERA opponents] succeed in blocking the ERA,

which is the largest issue, then they'll go after all issues."

Friedan also called for redoubled efforts to broaden support for the July 9 March on Washington called by NOW.

"We have picked up a momentum," she said. "The fact that 700 people rallied here in Peoria shows there is a passion. As the emergency becomes clearer—the danger of the ERA not passing—then there will be an ability to mobilize this kind of support. And we must do just that."

Momentum for July 9 is picking up within the ranks of the Chicago-area labor movement. United Steelworkers Local 1033 at Republic Steel, in response to a request by Illinois NOW, is sending its women's committee to march in Washington. The UAW District 31 Women's Caucus is supporting the demonstration and encouraging its members to participate. And a joint meeting of the women's committees of United Auto Workers locals 145 and 954, together with West Suburban NOW, has been scheduled for June 19 to discuss involving UAW members in the fight for the ERA and in the July 9 action.

Prop 13: new blow against working people

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—"The victory of Proposition 13, the California property-tax initiative, is a new blow against working people," says Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor.

Gov. Jerry Brown has already announced a freeze on state hiring. Superintendent of Public Instruction Wilson Riles is recommending elimination of summer school sessions. Mayor Tom Bradley said that 8,300 Los Angeles municipal workers would be fired. San Francisco transit fares have been raised 100 percent.

One state committee estimates that a staggering 270,000 local government employees will soon be looking for work.

"Blacks, Chicanos, Asians, and women—the last hired for public jobs—will be the first victims of these new cuts," Halstead warns. This has already begun. The Los Angeles City Personnel Department estimates that 62 percent of the workers slated to be cut are minorities.

All the laid-off employees perform social services vital to every California working person. While the cuts will fall hardest on the very poor, homeowners will also be the victims, as the quality of their schools, transit systems, and other services plummet.

Liberal Democratic Party Governor



Prop 13 tries to pit those who benefit from needed tax relief against public employees and those who use the vital services these workers provide.

Brown has been on an antilabor cut-back drive ever since he was elected. Although he originally opposed Proposition 13, he was quick to turn to his own advantage the groundswell of support for it among California hard-pressed taxpayers.

As *Newsweek* magazine put it, "when the vote rolled home he quickly began to act like a charter member of the Proposition 13 fan club."

Brown boasted that it was he who "began the effort at government frugality, and what I hear out of this vote is that people want more of it." This cutback artist now claims to have "marching orders from the people. This is the strongest expression of the democratic process in a decade."

Offensive deepens

"In other words," Halstead explains, "America's wealthy capitalist rulers have now begun in the nation's most populous state the attacks on wages, jobs, and social services that they began three years ago in New York, the nation's largest city."

"Proposition 13 was an anti-working-class swindle," Halstead stresses. "Its sponsors were obviously lying when they claimed it would cause no cuts in social services."

The measure offered some immediate tax relief to working-class homeowners and small property holders. It

reduces the property taxes they are forced to pay by 57 percent to a flat 1 percent rate. It rolls back assessed property valuations to 1976 levels and limits the rate at which these can be increased.

"But the strategy of Proposition 13's sponsors was to try to pit those who benefit from this needed tax relief against state and municipal employees, as well as all those who use the vital services these workers provide," Halstead says.

"The rulers are saying that we can maintain our schools, hospitals, parks, and public transportation only if we pay higher taxes. 'There is a shrinking pie,' they tell us. And they want us to fight among ourselves for what remains."

So with prices and property taxes zooming—seemingly with no end in sight—65 percent voted for Proposition 13 in a record turnout at the polls.

"People were clearly voting themselves a tax cut," says Halstead. "They were afraid of losing their houses. And polls showed that a majority believed the claims that no cutbacks would result."

Over the past four years, California homeowners have seen inflation drive up the assessed value of their homes by rates as high as 3 percent a month. As a result, the total amount of property taxes collected increased from \$6.6

billion in 1973 to \$12 billion this year.

The burden this placed on individual taxpayers was intolerable. "It was not unusual," *Newsweek* reports, "for a \$20,000-a-year breadwinner to find that his \$50,000 home was suddenly an \$80,000 home, with taxes of \$2,400 this year and a rise to \$4,000 or more in prospect."

Halstead explains that "these tax increases, along with the skyrocketing cost of living and cutbacks in social services, are all the result of efforts by the government to shift more and more of the costs of the capitalist system onto the backs of working people, family farmers, and small businesspeople."

Swindle

"But a careful reading of the fine print shows that Proposition 13 will do nothing to ease this mounting tax burden," the socialist maintains.

For example, Proposition 13 promised to reduce real estate taxes by a total of \$7 billion.

"But the measure will result in other tax increases," Halstead points out. "These will fall on the same working-class homeowners that 13 is supposed to help."

"For one thing, Brown and other California capitalist politicians are already discussing alternative tax sources. One such measure would increase the sales tax 1 percent and extend it to such services as haircuts and auto mechanics' fees. A second measure would hike state income taxes 20 percent."

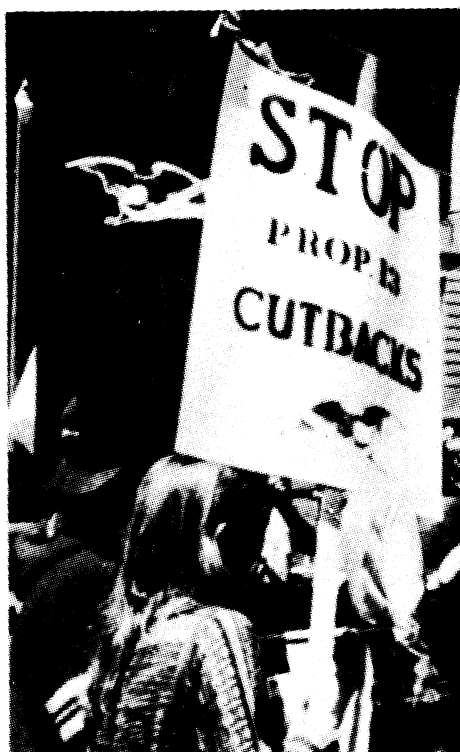
"In addition," Halstead notes, just before the election the state supreme court upheld an Oakland city payroll tax. Now Los Angeles and San Francisco are considering such a move. Undoubtedly other cities will too.

"What's more," Halstead explains, "the average homeowner will lose a big chunk of federal income tax deductions they had been able to claim up until now against state property taxes. Altogether California taxpayers may shell out up to \$3 billion in extra federal taxes—more than 40 percent of the money Proposition 13 is supposed to save them!"

"The biggest chunk of the Proposition 13 tax break—\$4.6 billion," Halstead says, "will simply go to the corporations and rent-gouging landlords, who own two-thirds of California real estate."

"Pacific Gas and Electric will get a

Continued on page 17



The socialist alternative: 'Tax the rich'

The following statement outlines the tax program proposed by California Socialist Workers Party gubernatorial candidate, Fred Halstead.

The passage of Proposition 13 dramatically underscores that American working people are fed up with the tax system in this country.

But they don't know what to do about it.

On the one hand, our taxes get higher and higher.

But whenever we seek to lower our taxes, the government fires teachers and other state employees, and cuts vital services for our communities.

Democratic and Republican party politicians say we must make these choices because there is "no more money." But this is a hoax.

The tax policies of these capitalist politicians are designed to set homeowner against renter, public employee against taxpayer, and small

store owner against worker. Meanwhile, big business rakes in record profits and gets the biggest tax windfalls ever.

We socialists ask: Why should workers pay any taxes at all? We



FRED HALSTEAD

Militant/Della Rossa

create all the wealth in this country. We build the highways, the skyscrapers, the plants . . . even the banks. There isn't a single corporation that would have a dime's worth of profits if we hadn't worked for it.

The government's own figures reveal that working people will pay a gigantic \$251 billion worth of federal personal income and social security taxes in 1978. Yet corporations will only pay \$121 billion—not even half as much!

We say that working people shouldn't pay any taxes. In a nutshell, our program is to tax the rich:

- No income taxes and no social security taxes on incomes below \$30,000. A 100 percent tax on those above \$50,000.

- Eliminate all property taxes and other taxes that hurt small owners and farmers. Tax the big corporations.

- Abolish all sales taxes.
- Abolish the \$126 billion war

budget and use that money to meet human needs.

- Stop the billions of dollars in nontaxable interest giveaways to the wealthy holders of state, city, and federal bonds.

- Place a 100 percent tax on the profits of the polluting corporations, the war profiteers, and the profit-gouging energy trust.

The fight against rising taxes is linked to the fight to defend our living standards against soaring inflation and cutbacks in social services.

To win these struggles, working people need to break with the Democratic and Republican parties. These big-business parties carry out the profits-first policies that are responsible for our problems.

We need a labor party—based on the power of a democratic, revitalized trade-union movement—to fight for our demands in the political arena.

Protests in Belgium, Africa too

15,000 in Paris say: 'France out of Africa!'

By Ernest Harsch

In one of the biggest protests against French intervention in Africa since the Algerian war, 15,000 persons marched in Paris June 5. The demonstrators carried signs reading, "No to Giscard's intervention in Africa," "No to the colonialist plot of Giscard-Schmidt-Carter," and "Indochina, Algeria, that's enough. No to colonialism."

The Paris march was organized by the French Communist Party and by a number of other groups, including the Revolutionary Communist League, French section of the Fourth International. According to a report in the June 7 Trotskyist daily *Rouge*, the procession included a contingent of 9,000 unionists and also drew the participation of a number of African and Arab immigrant workers.

The marchers rallied near the Bastille, where they heard speakers condemn the French intervention in both Zaïre and Chad. *Rouge* commented that the demonstration showed that there was a basis for organizing a "large and ongoing movement to protest against French colonial forces in Africa."

There have been other indications of the antiwar mood in France. The Paris march was preceded by a number of smaller demonstrations in various parts of the country, and by a protest statement in the June 4-5 *Le Monde* issued by a group of French political figures and intellectuals.

Signed by, among others, Simone de Beauvoir, Daniel Guérin, Charles Bettelheim, Alain Joxe, and Jean-Pierre Vigier, the statement began, "We accuse the French government of sending its paratroopers to Zaïre to defend colonial interests and to interfere in the internal affairs of the country by



French CP General Secretary Georges Marchais (in suit at foreground) joined thousands of others in Paris protest

giving, under the pretext of humanitarianism, crucial support to the corrupt and unpopular dictatorship of General Mobutu."

In Belgium, where the government sent some 1,700 paratroopers into Zaïre, protest demonstrations were held in various cities as well. The largest took place on May 21 in Brussels, where 1,500 persons rallied to demand "No to the Belgian and French military intervention in Zaïre."

The American-supported French and Belgian military offensives in Zaïre, Chad, and other countries have also aroused protests in Africa itself, where a number of regimes are under consid-

erable pressure from their own populations to publicly condemn the Western aggression.

The Angolan press agency declared, "Intervention of military contingents from the U.S., Belgium, France and Morocco was a threat to peace on the African continent." The Ethiopian regime called the Paris summit meeting an "imperialist" plot. The Algerian government said that "the five-country conference in Paris was a neocolonial enterprise launched with the complicity of the neocolonized." Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, the Libyan head of state, said, "French military intervention was part of an imperialist scheme to restore colonialism."

The government-owned *Daily News* of Tanzania stated June 6 that the "Western powers are conspiring to create banana republics to minister to neocolonial interests." Two days later Tanzanian President Julius K. Nyerere, who had previously spoken favorably of Carter's policy in Africa, criticized Carter because he "only cares about confrontation with the Soviet Union and defense of capitalism in Africa." Nyerere defended the Cuban military presence in Africa and stated, "Current developments show that the greater immediate danger to Africa's freedom comes from nations in the Western bloc."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Students tell UC to divest

By Steven Ashby

BERKELEY, Calif.—More than 1,500 people participated in a rally at the University of California at Berkeley June 8 against the university's investments in corporations doing business in South Africa.

The University of California system has \$800 million invested in stocks and bonds in such corporations—more than any other college in the country.

The rally was part of "A Day for Divestment" called by Students for Economic and Racial Justice, the campus affiliate of Campuses United Against Apartheid (CUAA). The CUAA is a statewide coalition that grew out of divestment protests a year ago.

Endorsers of the actions included Berkeley Students for Peace; MEChA; National Organization for Women Campus Task Force; U.S. Rep. Ron Dellums; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1695; Pan African Board; and the Young Socialist Alliance.

John Gaetsewe, secretary-general of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, told the rally that foreign investments in South Africa are "a pillar of oppression." He denied claims by U.S. corporations and university administrators that their investments are a progressive influence in South Africa.

UC sociology Prof. Harry Edwards demanded that "the university get out of the business of killing people. We have to stop this Vietnam right now."

AFSCME local 1695 President Samille Gooden explained that two-thirds of the funds the regents invest are the pension funds of its employees. Local 1695 has been on record for divestment for two years.

Following the rally nearly 2,000 people heard testimony at a public UC Regents meeting called to discuss divestment. The meeting came as a result of protests by students and employees who oppose any support to apartheid.

CUAA spokesperson Tessa Rouverol told the regents, "American capital invests in South Africa because of apartheid, not in order to end it. They are there," she said, "to take advantage of cheap, unorganized Black labor."

California Gov. Jerry Brown was at first greeted with applause when he showed up in his capacity as regent. But the applause turned into boos and hisses when he left the meeting twenty minutes later, claiming he could not yet take a stand but would carefully study the matter.

In his testimony San Francisco NAACP President Joe Hall compared American investment in the Krugerrand, a South African coin, "to our investment in the German mark when Jews were so persecuted" in the 1930s.

No vote was taken by the regents to divest their \$800 million investment in apartheid. Only six of the twenty-four regents on the board even bothered to attend.

After the meeting, 150 students sat in to protest the regents' refusal to divest, and 51 were arrested.

Rhodesian gov't troops massacre 22 Blacks

By Omari Musa

Rhodesian government troops murdered twenty-two Blacks June 10 in a village eight miles north of Salisbury, the capital city.

According to a heavily censored Reuters dispatch, the Rhodesian military headquarters claimed that thirteen of the villagers—nine women, two children, and two men—were killed in crossfire during a battle with nationalist guerrillas. According to the government, the remaining nine were killed when "a hut caught fire" and ammunition exploded.

But witnesses who saw the killings said that government troops were responsible for all the deaths. They added that all but three of the dead were women and children.

According to the dispatch—which Reuters said had undergone "substantial alterations and deletions" by censors—one surviving villager Jairos Nyakudya, "said that 11 of those killed had been crammed into the kitchen of one house when it was fired on. They included at least two children about 3 or 4 years old."

Another eyewitness, Ben Mashonganyika, said, "We saw a plane coming, then whoosh—there was an explosion."

If these reports got through the censors, one can only wonder in horror at what was left out.

This was the second massacre of Blacks by Rhodesian troops reported in the past month. On May 14

ninety-four Blacks were gunned down in cold blood, according to survivors. The government claimed that only fifty Blacks were killed in this "crossfire" incident, which occurred in the Gutu district near Fort Victory.

Ndabaningi Sithole, one of the Black participants in the Rhodesian government with racist Ian Smith, and Bishop Abel Muzorewa, another Zimbabwean leader in the coalition regime, attempted to broadcast statements critical of the latest massacre over the state-controlled radio June 12.

Military censors prohibited their broadcast. It was the first time since military censorship was instituted in January that any member of the four-party coalition government has been gagged.

A spokesperson from the state-owned radio said the statements had been broadcast in early reports but that censors demanded their withdrawal.

David Mukome, a representative of Muzorewa's United African National Council said he was "horried" at the ban.

The action by the military censors is one more blow to the credibility of the new coalition regime in Rhodesia, which preserves white power and privileges while claiming to move toward majority rule. It shows that the racist white minority continues to exercise all real political and military control, while Blacks in the coalition exercise no power at all.

Why a new peace movement is rising



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

By Doug Jenness

The May 27 demonstration of 15,000 to 20,000 in New York City protesting nuclear weapons was the largest peace action in this country since the last big anti-Vietnam War demonstration, on January 20, 1973.

It was an inspiring event. It offered unimpeachable evidence that antiwar sentiment in the United States is very deep and that thousands of people, especially young people, can be mobilized in opposition to nuclear power and nuclear arms.

It was a warning to the Carter administration that—should it decide to intervene more deeply in Africa—an active peace movement *already* exists, capable of mushrooming rapidly into a powerful mass movement.

The May 27 rally at the United Nations was called in April 1977 by the Mobilization for Survival at its founding meeting. The date was chosen to coincide with a United Nations special session on disarmament. Fol-

lowing this gathering, "A Call to Action" was widely circulated and then reaffirmed at another national conference in Chicago last December.

The call began: "The proliferation of nuclear weaponry and nuclear energy is the central, gravest threat to the human race today. In the belief that massive public action is the only counter to the mad momentum of the arms race, 118 people representing 49 organizations in 14 states met on April 23 of this year in Philadelphia to form the Mobilization for Survival."

'Stop arms race'

The central slogans adopted for the May 27 demonstration were: "Zero nuclear weapons!" "Ban nuclear power!" "Stop the arms race!" "Fund human needs!"

The Mobilization is a coalition of pacifist, religious, and political organizations. Among some of the more prominent are groups that participated in the big coalitions against the Viet-

nam War—the War Resisters League, American Friends Service Committee, Women's Strike for Peace, the Communist Party, and others. However, many organizations not actively involved in the Mobilization also sent contingents to the May 27 action.

Since the end of the anti-Vietnam War movement, various groups have attempted to organize peace actions of one sort or another. These have generally not gotten off the ground or have been very small. But the timeliness of the Mobilization's call was demonstrated when thousands of people, most of whom aren't members or supporters of the organizations in the Mobilization, poured into New York for the action.

This response isn't really surprising when one considers that it was part of a series of protests this spring against nuclear weapons and nuclear power, both here and abroad.

Especially in Europe, Washington's plans to produce the neutron bomb generated a storm of opposition, including a demonstration of 40,000 in the Netherlands.

In the United States, anti-nuclear power organizations and peace groups joined forces in Rocky Flats, Colorado, and Bangor, Washington, for protests of 6,000 and 5,000 respectively. At Barnwell, South Carolina, more than 1,200 people demonstrated.

Clearly one factor spurring people to protest is the belligerent threats of the Carter administration against Cuba and the Soviet Union in regard to Africa. Carter is using these threats to help lay the basis for deeper U.S. intervention in Africa. This raises the specter of greater conflicts with the USSR and Cuba.

The threat of the United States using nuclear weapons hangs like a cloud over all such conflicts.

U.S. war spending

Another factor is that Carter has put his foot on the gas pedal of the arms race. Besides boosting the arms budget by \$10 billion next year, he's proceeding with a new generation of weapons that would significantly shift Washington's strategic balance in relation to the Soviet Union. These include the cruise missile, the MX missile, and the neutron bomb. The first two are being developed to give the United States the capacity to knock out Soviet landbased missile installations in a nuclear first strike.

The fiendish neutron bomb is designed to kill human beings with intense radiation while doing little damage to property. It is designed for use against armies, possibly as a follow-up to a first strike. While Carter has deferred production of the neutron bomb for now, he is going ahead full speed to prepare artillery and short-

range missiles to accommodate neutron warheads.

A third factor is that the worldwide struggle against nuclear power over the past several years has convinced millions of people about the hazards of nuclear technology. It has sensitized people to the dangers of nuclear radiation, whether for "peaceful" or military purposes. This has helped create a favorable climate for activity against nuclear weapons and the dangers of nuclear war.

Finally, antiwar sentiment is still deep in this country. The bitter memory of Vietnam is still fresh, and Americans don't want to bear the heavy costs of another war. This was shown in 1976 when President Ford tested the response to greater U.S. support for South Africa's invasion of Angola and met with great resistance.

President Carter is currently probing public opinion—and trying to change it by whipping up an anticommunist hysteria—to see whether he can get room to intervene more freely in Africa. The cautious way that he is proceeding in respect to open U.S. military involvement is itself testimony to the extent of antiwar feeling in this country.

Changing times

When Presidents Kennedy and Johnson began the escalation of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, there was nowhere near the scope of antiwar sentiment that exists today. The country was just emerging from the witch-hunt years of the 1950s, and anticommunist demagoguery was more effective than today.

Furthermore, the emerging peace movement today—unlike those before World Wars I and II—isn't going to capitulate to the capitalist war effort if a shooting war begins. On the contrary, it is more likely that America's next foreign war will see a mammoth antiwar movement at an earlier stage of the war.

One of the many good characteristics of this movement is its nonexclusive character—a hard, fought legacy of the anti-Vietnam War movement. All groups and individuals who support the aims of the Mobilization are welcome to participate in local chapters and carry their own banners on its actions.

The next round of actions being organized are local demonstrations on August 6-9, the anniversaries of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings. These actions deserve the support of the labor movement, Black organizations, students, and the entire radical movement.

They can become effective protests demanding: "Ban nuclear weapons!" "Stop the nukes!" "Funds for public works, not for arms!" "No more Hiroshimas!" "Get the United States out of Africa!" "Hands off Cuba!"

Prepublication Discount

OUT NOW!



Out Now! A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War by Fred Halstead.

Buy now and save \$2.25 from the regular price of \$8.95! A Monad Press book, 850 pages, 32 pages of photos. Your copy will be mailed to you as soon as it comes off the press in early August.

Enclose \$6.70 plus \$.50 for postage and handling with this coupon and mail to: Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Or inquire at a bookstore listed on page 31.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

March, sit-in hit U.S. nuclear weapons

By Arnold Weissberg

NEW YORK—Five hundred people marched across midtown Manhattan to the U.S. Mission to the United Nations June 12 calling on Washington to take "substantial initiatives" for nuclear disarmament.

Nearly 400 protesters were arrested in a nonviolent sit-in in front of the mission. Despite the entirely peaceful character of the action, the demonstrators were charged with disorderly conduct and resisting arrest. Nearly all were released without bail.

The action was sponsored by the Mobilization for Survival.

The spirited march across busy Forty-second Street was punctuated by antiwar songs and chants. Police blocked off traffic on several streets.

As the demonstrators marched down Forty-fifth Street toward the U.S. Mission, they found the street barricaded by the police. After a brief sitdown on the street, the protesters filed past the police lines one by one and sat down in front of the mission. They were then arrested.

Marchers came from several states



June 12 march to U.S. mission at United Nations

Militant/Arnold Weissberg

and many organizations. There were representatives of antinuclear groups in California, South Carolina, Illinois, Washington, and Colorado, as well as New York. Organizations represented

included War Resisters League, Women Strike for Peace, Socialist Workers Party, Catholic Worker, Young Socialist Alliance, and others.

At a brief press conference at the

police barricades, speakers explained the purpose of the demonstration.

Writer Grace Paley, head of the American Center of PEN, the international writers organization, said that the protesters were there because "the great powers have made a mockery" of the UN disarmament conference, and "our government has mocked it most strongly."

Also speaking were Father Paul Mayer and Mobilization for Survival Coordinator Norma Becker. Becker noted that the protest was part of a series of demonstrations against nuclear weapons and nuclear power.

Ken Miliner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in the Nineteenth District, told the *Militant* he marched because he was opposed to Washington spending \$126 billion a year on "defense" while human needs go unmet.

"My platform calls for abolishing the 'defense' budget, which is really a war budget. That money should be spent on schools, housing, mass transit, and other projects that benefit the working people of this country," Miliner said.

June 24-25 protest at Seabrook, N. H., nuke

By Arnold Weissberg

Opponents of nuclear power will converge on Seabrook, New Hampshire, June 24 and 25 to demand a halt to construction of a \$2.5 billion atomic reactor.

The Clamshell Alliance, which is sponsoring the protest, announced June 12 that it had reached an agreement with the New Hampshire State government to hold the action on land near the construction site instead of attempting to occupy the site. This virtually eliminates the likelihood of mass arrests by police.

As the *Militant* went to press, final schedules for the weekend were not complete. However, Frank Bové of the Boston Clamshell said that there would be a big rally at the protest site June 24.

This will be the fourth protest at Seabrook. Last year, in the first mass action against nuclear power in the United States, 1,414 people were arrested after a two-day nonviolent sit-in.

Construction on the plant is going ahead despite widespread local and regional opposition. Seabrook residents have twice voted against it.

Hot waste water discharges into the

ocean will wreak havoc with delicate marine life.

Should an accident occur while the plant is operating, evacuation of the area will be impossible. Seabrook is a small coastal town, and the main road

is a narrow two-lane highway. Hundreds of thousands of tourists visit the area in the summer.

The plant has become so expensive that the Public Service Company of New Hampshire, the utility that owns

half the plant, has asked for rate hikes to cover the unplanned cost increases. PSC's requests have stirred angry opposition. Gov. Meldrim Thomson, a pronuclear fanatic, recently vetoed a bill that would forbid such rate hikes.

National antinuke conference set for August

The Paddlewheel Alliance, an anti-nuclear power coalition, has announced it will host a National No-Nukes Strategy Conference in Louisville, Kentucky, August 16-20 at the University of Louisville campus.

A letter to antinuclear activists around the country declares that the conference "will provide the opportunity for safe energy activists to sit down with co-workers from across the country (and the world) to share successes and failures, evaluate past actions, communicate ongoing needs, strengthen regional networks, and set the stage for national or

regionally co-ordinated local actions."

A Southeast regional antinuke conference in Tallahassee, Florida, last month unanimously issued a call for a week of antinuke protests around the country during the week of November 11-19.

Louisville conference organizers have invited regions to send delegates. Delegates will be chosen in a variety of ways, including at state caucuses and election from local coalitions. About 270 regional delegates are expected. National organizations that participate in the antinuke movement will also be invited to send representatives.

The conference comes at an important moment in the development of the antinuclear movement—following the success of spring protests and prior to the nationally coordinated actions called for November.

As the first national gathering aimed at attracting activists in the anti-nuclear power movement, the Louisville conference could have an important impact on the movement's growth and development. Activists will be able to discuss ways of reaching more and more people and to develop a strategy for winning over the majority of the American people to oppose nuclear power. —A.W.

Jailed for defending Palestinian rights

Israeli court sentences Esmail to 15 months

By David Frankel

Sami Esmail, a twenty-four-year-old American of Palestinian descent, was sentenced to fifteen months in prison by an Israeli court June 12. Esmail, who went to Israel in December to visit his dying father, was charged with being a member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

The sole piece of evidence produced by the prosecution was a confession that Esmail repudiated in court, saying that it had been extorted through physical and psychological pressure. "My only crime is my political solidarity with the oppressed and homeless Palestinian people and other oppressed people throughout the world," Esmail declared.

As a student at Michigan State University, Esmail had been an active defender of Palestinian rights. In sen-



tencing him, the court president expressed the hope that the jail term would deter attempts by Palestinian organizations to win supporters on American campuses.

Under the U.S. Constitution, membership in a political organization is not a crime but a right. Nevertheless, U.S. officials have refused to defend Esmail's rights as an American citizen.

On the contrary, Esmail testified in court that during his interrogation he was shown an FBI file on his activities.

Abdeen Jabarra, a Detroit lawyer, is representing Esmail in a suit to obtain the government's files on him. "There is no question that they transmitted information [to Israel]," Jabarra told the *Militant*. "They have never denied that."

In a letter on the Esmail case to John Shattuck, director of the American Civil Liberties Union's legislative office, Senate Intelligence Committee Chairperson Birch Bayh (D-Ind.) tried to justify the FBI's actions by smearing supporters of Palestinian rights as terrorists.

According to Bayh's April 12 letter, "International terrorist activities pose a serious threat to the United States. The United States receives valuable information about such activities from foreign governments; to assure the continued flow of such information, the United States in turn provides information to foreign governments."

Not even the Israeli court was able to claim that Esmail had taken part in "terrorist activities." But Bayh's letter is a virtual admission that Washington had a hand in Esmail's victimization.

Socialists and the miners' strike

Where sectarians go wrong

The word is that the company is getting a court injunction to stop our pickets. Well, the miners had injunctions, the Taft-Hartley Act, and even the President of the United States against them, but did it make any difference? Injunctions don't build tractors, we do!

—Leaflet distributed last month by strikers at Ford tractor plant in Romeo, Michigan.

By Shelley Kramer

These auto workers, and thousands more like them, are walking taller today because of the example set by the coal miners.

For 110 days this past winter the miners inspired workers across the nation with the power of their class. They won the support of millions of unionists and others fighting for social justice.

The miners' victory in blocking the destruction of their union was—as the *Militant* and Socialist Workers Party summed it up—a victory for all working people.

But some who claim to be socialists disagree. They insist the miners were soundly defeated.

"The rotten contract which the membership of the United Mine Workers of America accepted . . . represents a defeat for the 110-day-coal strike," the Spartacist League concluded in its paper *Workers Vanguard*.

A "Sellout Worse Than The Last One" is how the *Bulletin*, newspaper of the Workers League, described the UMWA's final settlement. According to the Workers League, the fight the miners waged won "no concessions."

The third contract, which the miners finally accepted, *did* fall far short of the miners' demands. It abolished the union's free health-care plan. It failed to equalize pensions. It did not expand safety clauses. But it marked a retreat in the bosses' union-busting drive.

For these sectarians, however, there is only cause for despair in the miners' heroic struggle.

The Spartacist League even followed up the strike by announcing that *Workers Vanguard* is shifting

from weekly to biweekly publication. Why? Because of the "quiescent period through which we are passing" in the American class struggle.

These sectarians say their "Marxist appetites" have "run too far ahead of recent objective possibilities."

The truth is the Spartacists are *trailing far behind* the "objective possibilities." The deepening radicalization and increasing combativity of workers such as the miners—not their "quiescence"—is what is throwing these sectarians into crisis.

Their fear of the class struggle—albeit disguised in left-wing rhetoric—characterizes several small groups that falsely claim to be Trotskyist. The Spartacist League and Workers League exemplify such groups in the United States.

Examining why their positions are the *opposite* of the Trotskyist approach can help make clearer what a revolutionary socialist strategy in the labor movement really involves.

This article will take up two aspects of that strategy. First, how to organize effective strike-support activity. And second, how the fight for union democracy fits into the miners' struggle.

War against miners

The coal operators set out to break the power of the UMWA in 1977. Their full-scale assault marked a turning point in the antilabor offensive—for the first time a major industrial union was on the firing line.

The government and news media assumed their battle stations. The miners were denounced as a "wild breed" out to wreck the economy and throw other workers onto the streets. An energy scare was manufactured. Utility price increases were blamed on the miners' greed.

In this situation the duty of socialists—and the response of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance—was to expose the big-business war on the UMWA and alert all workers to their stake in the miners' fight.

This was the message the *Militant* hammered away at week after week: "Defend the coal miners!"

"Unite behind the miners!" "Stop Carter's drive to bust coal strike!" "Coal miners are fighting for all of us."

Truth about strike

The *Militant* dedicated itself to getting out the truth about the strike and urging support activity. Socialists mobilized to sell the paper to co-workers, to students, to people in Black and Chicano communities—to everyone who stood to gain by a victory for the miners.

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance helped build solidarity meetings for the miners across the country. Throughout the strike SWP candidates were the only candidates for public office who campaigned in defense of the miners.

The SWP and YSA recognized that the outcome of this battle would set the stage for class battles to come and proceeded to do whatever was possible to ensure a miners' victory.

The sectarians of the Spartacist League and Workers League, however, had a different starting point.

"The greatest immediate threat to the miners' strike is not the government or the operators but the UMWA 'leaders,'" *Workers Vanguard* charged.

That's right, chimed in the *Bulletin*. "The chief participants in this conspiracy against the miners are the trade union bureaucrats—from [UMWA President] Arnold Miller to George Meany."

Only groups well isolated from the working class could so easily dismiss the ruthless union-busting campaign of the coal bosses and government.

It is true that Miller failed to mobilize the power of union members in a fight to repel the blows of the coal operators. Had the UMWA leadership done that, its hand would have been immeasurably strengthened at the bargaining table.

Instead, behind closed doors, Miller agreed to a series of disastrous provisions and then tried to sell several contracts to the ranks. He ignored the miners' contract demands. He leveled accusations against union activists leading the rank-and-file rebellion.

Consequently, there was widespread dissatisfaction among the strikers with Miller's actions. For some union militants, it was channeled into a mid-strike resumption of a petitioning drive to recall Miller.

Who is the enemy?

But to target Miller as *the* enemy, as the sectarians did, could only steer the miners' struggle away from the real, immediate threats to the very existence of their union.

By drawing their battle lines between the miners and the UMWA officials, the sectarians backed themselves into a corner from which they were incapable of proposing any united union actions to win the strike.

They abstained from—and denounced—broad support rallies and union caravans because such actions "boosted the union misleaders." The Spartacist League condemned the SWP for "engineering blocs of union leaders who sponsored rallies in L.A. (600), San Francisco (1,000), and New York (1,400), in late February and early March."

The Spartacists specialized in calling for "mass protest" strikes in coal-related industries. "The steelworker ranks must take up the miners' call, repudiate the union bureaucracy's no-strike pledge

Minneapolis Teamsters and the courts

The sectarians claim to embody the traditions of American Trotskyism, especially as practiced by the revolutionary socialist leaders of the Minneapolis Teamsters in the 1930s.

But the history of the Teamsters struggles—recounted in Farrell Dobbs's four volumes—reveals the same strategy toward the courts then that guides the Socialist Workers Party today.

In 1938 a forerunner of the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin acts became law in Minnesota with the support of Gov. Harold Stassen. Known in the state's labor movement as the "slave labor law," the legislation established a labor-relations board with the power to regulate strikes and union finances.

One of the first suits under the Stassen law was brought against Teamsters Local 544, led by members of the Socialist Workers Party. Five independent truckers—fronting for the trucking bosses and government—charged the local leadership with financial corruption and election fraud.

Local 544 fought the fink suit tooth and nail. "It was a matter of defending labor's right to

regulate its own internal affairs," Dobbs explains.

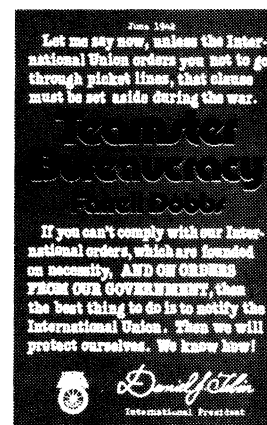
The union-busting attacks of the bosses and their government continued. When Local 544 broke with the AFL Teamsters led by Daniel Tobin and affiliated with the more militant CIO, Minneapolis cops looked the other way while Tobinite goons forcibly tried to "organize" 544 members back into the AFL.

In this new situation the socialist union leaders sought a court order enjoining the Tobinites from using "force or violence to compel unions to join the AFL union."

At that very moment Local 544 was leading the fight against Stassen's "slave labor law." But that did not stop the union from citing provisions of this reactionary law against Tobin.

"The language our lawyers used in drafting this order for the judge's signature was borrowed from the Stassen law," Dobbs recalls.

The leaders of Local 544 did not rely on the courts to stop Tobin's thuggery. But the court action, Dobbs explains, "helped publicize the fact—concealed by the daily papers—that a mass movement was being attacked by gangsters."



By Farrell Dobbs
Teamster Rebellion
 192 pp., paper \$3.95
Teamster Power
 256 pp., paper \$4.45
Teamster Politics
 256 pp., paper \$4.45
Teamster Bureaucracy
 256 pp., paper \$4.45

Also:
Leon Trotsky on the Trade Unions
 80 pp., paper \$1.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.25 for postage and handling; \$.50 if order of more than \$5.



Labor solidarity activities such as the Baltimore car caravan pictured above and the West Virginia support meeting below were denounced by the sectarians.

and strike in defense of their own and the miners' needs," ordered *Workers Vanguard*.

The Workers League went still further: "We say the key to victory in the strike is . . . the calling of a general strike to force Carter to resign and the building of a Labor Party to fight for a workers' government."

These were the *preconditions* the sectarians set for active strike support. It didn't matter to them that few workers were prepared to strike on the miners' behalf, but thousands were ready to rally, give money, and otherwise back their UMWA sisters and brothers.

Class consciousness

For most workers the strike-support meetings, rallies, and caravans they participated in were the first experience in joining with other trade unionists in independent political activity.

For many women, Blacks, students, and farmers these were their first acts of open solidarity with the labor movement.

Out of these experiences, a consciousness of common needs and common enemies—the beginning of class consciousness—was developing. This consciousness needed to be encouraged and strengthened in order for it to spread and make possible more powerful solidarity actions later.

But the Spartacist League and Workers League decided for the miners that such solidarity actions were not welcome. "Not tuna fish, not canned goods, not dollar donations," one Spartacist supporter declared. "Miners do not need charity from anyone," the *Bulletin* announced. Nor the support of "gays and lesbians" the paper added, in a candid display of prejudice.

By shunning united-front support actions, the sectarians were in effect taking the heat off union officials under increasing pressure from their ranks to back the miners.

Union democracy

The sectarians also opposed the struggles for union democracy that preceded the miners' strike—and in fact made the strike possible.

From 1968 until the end of 1972 miners fought the corrupt Tony Boyle regime for control of their union. Led by Miners for Democracy (MFD), they made democratic gains that paved the way to the 110-day coal strike.

Miners won the right to read, discuss, and vote on their contracts—which is why they were able to turn down the coal bosses' initial "ball and chain" contract offers.

They won the right to elect district officials. This increased the pressure of the ranks when those officials then went to the bargaining table.

And miners came to see that they were the ones with the power, and their elected leaders were supposed to represent them—which contributed in no small way to the spirit and determination of the strikers.

But the sectarians turn reality on its head with their conclusions about the Miners for Democracy movement.

"The present crisis is the direct outgrowth of the 1972 victory of Miners for Democracy," *Workers Vanguard* asserted. The miners' fight to democratize their union was "significant only as a step in the U.S. government's campaign to curtail even the formal independence of the union movement."

How did the MFD—a movement aimed at expanding the rights of union members—manage to "curtail" the "independence" of the UMWA? By "relying" on "legal battles in the federal courts and intervention by the federal government in internal union affairs," the Spartacists answer.

In the eyes of the sectarians the MFD was guilty of the ultimate crime—using court suits to advance the struggle for union democracy.

A day in court—no matter what the circumstances—breaches the socialist principle of promoting trade-union independence from the capitalist state, they say.

By this logic, union militants who protest corruption and discrimination—even murder—through the courts pose the main threat to the independence of the unions.

'Lesser evils'

Those who are in reality undermining trade-union independence and democracy—the Tony Boyles, Lloyd McBrides, George Meanys, and Douglas Frasers—become "lesser evils" for the sectarians.

"The central danger facing coal miners is the threat of government intervention into the union," announced the *Bulletin* during the 1977 UMWA elections.

So, they reasoned, "critical support" should go to Lee Roy Patterson, an old Boyle crony and bitter opponent of the MFD and of union democracy. Support to Patterson, they argued, was "an important step in the fight against the government."

In pursuing these reactionary stands, the sectarians always claim to be carrying out the revolutionary socialist strategy Leon Trotsky espoused. But what was his strategy for the trade unions?

In one of his last and most far-sighted essays, "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay," Trotsky projected the "common feature in the development, or more correctly the degeneration, of modern trade unions: it is their drawing closely to and growing together with the state power."

"Monopoly capitalism is less and less willing to

reconcile itself to the independence of the trade unions," he explained. "It demands of the reformist bureaucracy and labor aristocracy, who pick up the crumbs from its banquet table, that they become transformed into its political police before the eyes of the working class."

Therefore, Trotsky argued, socialists in the trade unions fight on two fronts—for "complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state" and for "trade union democracy."

Trotsky realized that these tasks were closely tied to one another. "In the United States," he said, "the trade unions are directly bound by their apparatus to the general staffs of industry and the bourgeois parties."

The trade-union bureaucracy enforces restrictive labor laws, crushes the initiative of the union ranks, concludes contracts and social pacts sacrificing the workers' interests, and imprisons the unions within the bosses' political parties. In short, the bureaucrats act as "political police" for the capitalist class.

Trade-union independence

Thus, the struggle to break the bureaucracy's stranglehold over the unions—to establish democratic control by the membership—is critical to advancing trade-union independence.

But not by the sectarians' logic. According to their rule book, the trade-union struggle must proceed in two distinct stages. First comes the fight for trade-union independence. Then, and only then, are workers allowed to fight for democracy in their unions.

"The precondition for union democracy," according to *Workers Vanguard*, "is the fight for independence of the workers movement from the capitalist state."

The issue in the UMWA was "not 'democracy' but fighting government intervention in the union," the *Bulletin* concurred.

If the class struggle violates these marching orders—if it ever makes a tactical dip through the courts—then the sectarians turn their backs on the struggle in order to safeguard their "principles."

But the only beneficiaries of such principles are the trade-union bureaucrats, whose "independence" the sectarians wind up defending against the demands of the union ranks.

In the UMWA this policy amounted to siding with Tony Boyle against the MFD.

The Spartacists saw the MFD as "simply another maneuver in the interests of the capitalist class." They even made the fantastic charge that the "MFD was founded, built and run by liberal Democratic Party politicians and lawyers."

Tony Boyle peddled the same brand of slander. He called the MFD rebels "that gang of outsiders with support from rich foundations" out to "weaken and destroy the United Mine Workers."

With sectarian blinders securely in place, the Workers League and Spartacist League could see only the "outside interests" who played a role in the MFD—primarily labor lawyers Joseph Rauh and Chip and Kenneth Yablonski.

Screened from their vision was the massive union discontent and the political struggles in the coalfields that actually led to the formation of the MFD.

Under Boyle's regime, 170,000 out of the UMWA's 190,000 miners could not elect their own district officials. There was, of course, no rank-and-file contract ratification.

Union dissidents were threatened with the loss of health cards, pensions, or their lives. The bosses blatantly violated health and safety rules, knowing full well they could count on Boyle's support. The union officialdom always lined up with the coal operators when it came to legislation to benefit miners.

In 1969 a mass movement emerged in West Virginia and succeeded in winning black lung benefits for disabled coal miners.

In 1970 miners led strikes to stop the confirmation of Nixon appointee J. Richard Lucas as director of the Bureau of Mines.

In 1971 activists in the anthracite fields led walkouts to demand contract parity with bituminous miners.

Fueled MFD

These were the forces and experiences that fueled the Miners for Democracy movement and ended in 1972 with the election victory of a slate headed by Arnold Miller.

The MFD's "Miners' Bill of Rights" included the call for district autonomy, rank-and-file contract ratification, full-time safety committees, the right to refuse unsafe work, six-hour work shifts, black lung clinics, and stepped-up organizing efforts.

But leading up to that election victory, the Boyle

Continued on page 12

'Willful' violations at W. Va. site

OSHA blames construction firm for 51 deaths

By Nancy Cole

Research-Cottrell, Inc., murdered fifty-one West Virginia construction workers on April 27.

That is the only conclusion to be drawn from a report on the scaffold collapse in Willow Island, West Virginia, released by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration.

OSHA Director Eula Bingham told reporters June 8 that the "tragedy never would have occurred" if the company had not "willfully" violated safety rules.

R.V. Bowser, head of the Willow Island Disaster Organization, declared that the company "cannot ever be trusted with human life—not ever again."

Bowser's charge became a tragic forecast two days later when a nineteen-year-old construction worker fell to his death at the same Willow Island site.

On April 27, the fifty-one workers building the cooling tower were killed when the entire scaffold collapsed. They plunged 170 feet to the ground.

It was declared the worst non-coal-mining disaster in West Virginia history and the worst industrial accident since OSHA was established in 1970.

OSHA reported June 8 that the three "main factors" in the collapse of the scaffold were:

- Proper tests were not conducted on the freshly poured concrete to see if it was strong enough to support the next layer of scaffolding.

- All bolts necessary were not used to keep the scaffolding adequately fastened to the tower at all times.

- The beam sections supporting the concrete lifting system were not anchored firmly enough to support the loads being lifted.

OSHA also charged that Research-Cottrell was guilty of seven other willful violations and six "unknowing" ones.

Two other companies were cited for failure to test the fresh concrete—the Pittsburgh Testing Company and the United Engineers and Constructors, Inc., consultants hired by the Monongahela Power Company.

The sum total of fines OSHA leveled against Research-Cottrell for its murderous violations was \$105,100, plus \$1,600 against each of the other firms—somewhat over \$2,100 per death.

Bingham said it is nearly the maximum possible under the law.

Research-Cottrell, of course, will appeal the citations and fines. Payment—if it ever happens—will be delayed for an undetermined period.



Willow Island, April 27, 1978

But even if the company were to pay tomorrow, how would the fine penalize a company whose profits were more than \$8 million in 1977?

Research-Cottrell must have made far more than \$100,000 by cutting costs with safety violations. In 1977, its profits jumped 30 percent from the year before while its sales rose only 2 percent.

OSHA still hasn't decided whether to recommend to the Justice Department

that criminal charges be brought against the company. Even under criminal law, the maximum penalty for violations leading to industrial murder is a mere \$10,000 fine and six months imprisonment.

For its part, OSHA would just as soon wrap this case up. Bingham denied at the June 8 news conference that the agency was lax in making inspections at Willow Island.

She tried to worm out of blame for the disaster by claiming the federal

law put the primary job of ensuring workplace safety on the employer!

The Public Citizen's Health Research Group charged in a report released last month that OSHA shared responsibility for the fifty-one deaths because it neglected to regularly inspect the construction site.

From studying OSHA records, the group found that two inspections in March 1977 found the scaffold did not meet weight support requirements. It was "badly in need of repairs" when first delivered but then fixed "without knowledge" of qualified engineers.

Yet OSHA did not inspect the Willow Island site from March 1977 until the disaster in April 1978.

"There should be many inspections in high hazard industries," Bingham explains. "If I had the resources I would jump when anybody said anything. I am telling you we made as many inspections as we had resources for."

Yet while OSHA runs for cover with excuses of "no resources," the Supreme Court decides to put even more obstacles in the way of federal inspections. It did that with its May 23 ruling against warrantless safety checks.

It's more important in the high court's perversion of the Bill of Rights that employers have their "privacy" than workers have their lives.

It would seem that none of them—big business or government—can be "trusted with human life."

Brown lung: officials squabble, workers die

In its early stages it causes "Monday morning sickness"—breathing trouble and chest tightness on the first day of the workweek.

Later on, it leads to permanent disability—excessive coughing and inability to breathe, requiring victims to sleep sitting up and make emergency hospital visits for oxygen.

Then death.

It is brown lung—caused by breathing cotton dust—and at least 35,000 U.S. textile workers have it. Some 150,000 others are believed susceptible to it.

Brown lung was first described in Italy in 1705. It was well known in Britain in the 1800s. But in the United States, no serious study was made of it until 1967.

It has been a political issue for nearly a decade now. Watergate turned up a memo showing that Nixon stalled in implementing cot-

ton dust standards in return for campaign contributions from the textile industry.

The Labor Department and its Occupational Safety and Health Administration took no action until they were sued in 1975. In response to the lawsuit brought by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, OSHA promised rules by May 31 of this year.

But before that date arrived, Carter's economic advisers called a halt to the regulations, having concluded they would cost industry too much money and were inflationary.

Labor Secretary Ray Marshall and OSHA Director Eula Bingham protested. They had already pared down costs considerably, they explained. Marshall added that delaying the rules any longer "would lead to lengthy suits and possibly spur pending brown lung compensation legislation similar to the costly

Black Lung Act" won by coal miners.

On June 6, it was reported that Carter had decided to go the "anti-inflation" route. Then the next day, his stand supposedly shifted. Now he was backing standards proposed by Marshall.

The details still aren't public as we go to press. But top White House economic adviser Charles Schultze says the compromise will provide industry with "more certainty." He says the revised rules will lower costs to industry.

Schultze proclaimed there were "no winners and no losers" in the dispute.

But when capitalist politicians and officials squabble over how much to sacrifice workers' lives and health, there are *always* losers. In this case, they're the nation's textile workers. —N.C.

...mine strike

Continued from page 11

machine had an iron grip on the union apparatus. The dissidents within the union used existing laws to try to loosen that grip and gain access to the ranks.

They filed suits with the Labor Department and in the courts to establish the membership's right to elect district officers, participate in fair elections, and have a say in union publications. These are rights supposedly guaranteed by Title I of the Landrum-Griffin Act. So the MFD demanded their enforcement.

Liberal politicians had tacked Title I onto the 1959 Landrum-Griffin Act to try to disguise the legislation's antilabor purpose, which was to tighten state control of union finances and further restrict sympathy strikes and boycotts.

These Democratic "friends of labor" had little to fear from Title I—only the secretary of labor can file suit to enforce its provisions.

The capitalist politicians understand, even if the sectarians do not, that the secretary of labor is no champion of union democracy. Predictably, the government vigorously resisted any intervention against Boyle.

"We have the right to require the Labor Depart-

ment to enforce the law," MFD Chair Mike Trbovich said in 1971, "but when the department plays footsie with them [the Boyle machine], there is little hope of success."

Only the independent actions of the miners forced the government and courts to finally enforce the law. It took eight years before district trusteeships were lifted. Two years before the federal court set aside the results of the 1969 election. Four years before Boyle was indicted for Joseph Yablonski's murder. This is what the Spartacist League calls being "boosted" to power "by the grace of the federal government's intervention!"

The method that led the sectarians into Tony Boyle's arms—and into opposing the miners' solidarity movement—inevitably places them on the wrong side of every important class-struggle issue.

The Fight Back movement in the United Steelworkers, which ran Ed Sadlowski for union president last year? "Not a dime's worth of difference" from Lloyd McBride, said the Spartacists, comparing the insurgent candidate to the hand-picked choice of outgoing USWA President I.W. Abel.

The Workers League went one better. The *Bulletin*—after accusing Sadlowski of "throwing open the doors of the union" to the government—commended McBride for filing suit against the Sadlowski campaign for allegedly accepting campaign funds from employers! Seems the courts are

fair play if they are used against rank-and-file movements.

Affirmative-action suits to establish the rights of women and oppressed nationalities to promotions and jobs? Nothing but "union-busting schemes" according to the Spartacist League.

And the efforts of Teamsters for a Democratic Union and PROD (Professional Drivers Council) to democratize the Teamsters union? "PROD Scabs on Teamsters" read the *Bulletin's* headline. TDU members are "fools and charlatans" say the Spartacists, "who aid the government rape of the unions."

The recent fight by New York transit workers to win a fair contract vote really upset the sectarians. This "treacherous action"—bringing the "ballot-box case to the capitalist court"—is "worst of all," said the Spartacists.

According to Trotsky, "the most important task of the revolutionary party" is the "liberation of the workers from the reactionary influence of the trade union bureaucracy." But in each and every one of these struggles, the sectarians have fallen into the trap of pushing the same reactionary line as the bureaucrats. They travel by a "left wing" route—to be sure—but they arrive at the same destination.

The Socialist Workers Party's strategy is leading in a different direction—towards trade-union democracy, labor solidarity, and building the independent power of the working class.

3,000 march for gay rights



ATLANTA—Three thousand supporters of gay rights protested Anita Bryant's visit here June 11. The antigay bigot spoke before the Southern Baptist convention. The march and rally, sponsored by the Atlanta Coalition for Human Rights, was the largest gay rights demonstration yet in that city.

Christopher St. protests

Three gay rights groups in California have issued a call for solidarity actions against the Briggs initiative. The initiative, which will be on the California ballot in November, calls for firing any public school employee who is gay or supports gay rights.

The Bay Area Committee Against the Briggs Initiative, the Committee Against the Briggs Initiative, and the NO! On Briggs Initiative Committee issued the call to gay rights supporters in the United States and abroad. The appeal says, in part:

"We ask all who support democratic rights to join with us in the spirit of the oldest concept of the movement for civil liberties: 'An injury to one is an injury to all!' Help us defeat the Briggs initiative.

"Each summer at Christopher Street Liberation Day activities the movement for lesbian and gay rights commemorates the new beginning in 1969 when lesbians and gay men stood up and said 'Enough!'

"The time is upon us again to call a halt to the drive against our rights. Help us stop it in California. Join with us this year at Christopher Street commemorative marches and other

activities around the theme: 'Stop the Briggs Initiative!'

Gay rights actions scheduled around the country include:

Boston: June 17 parade. Assemble at 11:30 a.m. in Copley Square and march to the Boston Common for a 1:30 p.m. rally.

Chicago: Rally in Chicago's Loop at 1 p.m. on June 23. 1 p.m. parade on June 25 to Lincoln Park for rally.

Los Angeles: July 2 Christopher Street West Parade and March. Assemble at 3:00 p.m. at Hollywood and Vine. A rally will follow, organized by the Los Angeles Committee Against the Briggs Initiative and the NO! On Briggs Initiative Committee.

New York: June 25 Christopher Street Liberation Day demonstration. Assemble at Sheridan Square (Christopher Street and Seventh Avenue) at 11:00 a.m. to march up Fifth Avenue to Sheep Meadow in Central Park for a 3:00 p.m. rally.

San Francisco: June 25 Gay Freedom Day Parade. Assemble at 10:00 a.m. at Howard Street between Second and Third and march to Civic Center for 1:00 p.m. rally.

San Jose: June 24 Gay Freedom Day Rally at noon in St. James Park.

National picket line

Louisville machinists vote to stay out

On June 11 striking members of Lodge 2409 of the International Association of Machinists overwhelmingly voted not to even take a vote on General Electric's latest offer. The 300 Louisville toolmakers have been on strike since April 26 over wage demands and other grievances. Production has continued.

The decision union vote caught the bosses by surprise. The local news media had already declared the strike over. And GE was so confident of victory it had placed workers' time cards back in their racks.

On July 1 GE starts its annual shutdown of production to retool and perform repairs. Whether the company can get that work done without toolmakers will be critical to the strike's outcome.

Ford does it again

A week-long wildcat strike at the Ford tractor plant in Romeo, Michigan, ended May 18 when members of United Auto Workers Local 400 voted to return to work. The strike—which was respected by the entire 1,800-member local—was provoked by company speedup and harassment.

Ford had moved its tractor operations to rural Romeo expecting to employ a more docile work force. But just as General Motors found at its small-town Lordstown, Ohio, plant, workers everywhere are fed up with speedup.

The Ford walkout began May 11 after management threatened workers in the welding department with disciplinary reprisals if they did not "upgrade" their work.

Workers in other departments joined the strike, and mass, twenty-four-hour picket lines of up to 250 were soon patrolling the five plant gates.

Socialist Workers Party gubernatorial candidate Robin Mace and lieutenant-governor candidate Don Bechler were at the picket lines to express support to the strikers. Mace is a member of UAW Local 900 and Bechler is a former UAW shop chairperson.

"The troublemaker in this situation," the socialists said in a campaign statement, "is Ford Motor Company whose greed for more and more profits sets aside all considerations for decent working conditions."

Local union officials pushed hard for a return to work. After Ford fired seventeen strikers—and with the threat of a court injunction hanging over their heads—the union voted to end the strike. A committee has been formed inside the plant to defend the victimized strikers.

Why unions should fight Bakke

In the May issue of *65 News*—newspaper of United Steelworkers Local 65—grievancewoman Alice Peurla devotes her column to explaining why workers and the labor movement have a stake in overturning the racist *Bakke* decision.

"As a woman steelworker with 25 years seniority, I know what it is to be denied the right to enter apprenticeships in the trade," Peurla says. She recounts the struggle of women and minorities to gain jobs and promotions in the steel industry. The affirmative-action programs they have won are comparable to quotas to achieve equal education, Peurla argues.

"Companies and schools have proven they will not 'voluntarily' grant us our rights," she says. "Only through many years of struggle did we get Civil Rights laws, and many more years to get some equality of opportunity. *We cannot afford to lose what we have gained.*"

—Shelley Kramer

Mpls. teacher layoffs threaten civil rights gains

By Jill Lakowske

MINNEAPOLIS—Faced with an \$8 million budget deficit, the Minneapolis School Board has laid off 328 teachers—10 percent of the public-school teaching staff.

The layoffs, the first of this sort to hit teachers here, will have a dramatic effect on the percentage of teachers of oppressed national minorities.

Thirty percent of those being shown the door are Black, Chicano, or Native American. It is estimated that the layoffs will lower the proportion of these teachers from 10 percent to below 6 percent.

Until 1968, the percentage was below 3. Then, under pressure from the civil rights movement, the school district established an affirmative-action program. It aimed to bring the percentage of minority teachers into line with that of minority students, which is currently 25 percent.

Unfortunately, the leadership of the Minneapolis Federation of Teachers unyieldingly opposes protecting the jobs of those hired under affirmative-action plans.

The school board, under fire from civil rights groups, has moved for court action to retain the Black, Chicano, and Native American teachers.

But the MFT officials have threatened a counter-lawsuit if this occurs, maintaining that such an action would destroy seniority and tenure.

For nearly two years now, supporters of affirmative action within the MFT have been organizing to change the union's stand. The MFT Human Rights Committee urges that the teachers' contract include a clause to protect the ratio of those hired under affirmative-action programs in the event of layoffs.

Jim Carson, head of the human rights committee, rejects claims that such a contract clause would destroy seniority.

"Such a clause," Carson told the *Militant*, "would strengthen the union and the contract. It is wrong for any system to perpetuate racism, and right now strict seniority does just that.

"The union must say, 'We will have nothing to do with racism. We reject it,

and we will fight it whenever it pops its ugly head up.'

"A clause which provides for a *modification* in seniority is in no way weakening seniority."

Carson points out that the district is not laying off teachers according to seniority anyway. "They're laying off by departments," he said. "So why not put all the minority teachers in the Intergroup (affirmative action) department and exempt that department from layoffs."

The MFT has embarked on a low-key campaign against *all* teacher layoffs. It mailed out a layoffs fact sheet to all city residents, and teachers went door to door distributing and discussing the fact sheet.

More than 500 teachers attended the May 23 school board meeting. They carried a banner saying, "Smaller Class Size Now," and chanted, "Don't cut teachers."

However, the implication of the MFT fact sheet and the union's demands that the school lunch center be closed and administrators be cut to save money is that *someone* must go—just

don't let it be teachers.

For years now, the MFT leadership has campaigned heavily for a Democratic legislature and school board. (The Democratic Party is called the Democratic Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota.)

But these "friends of education" have turned their backs on quality education in Minneapolis.

The DFL-controlled legislature adjourned this session with a \$191 million surplus, while teachers across the state are being laid off and class size is increasing.

"If we let them get away with laying off teachers this year, we will face deeper cuts in the coming years," were the recent words of MFT Executive Board member Doug Davis.

How to stop "letting them get away with layoffs" is the key.

Surely it isn't by cutting ourselves off from allies in the oppressed communities by opposing affirmative action.

Nor is it by continuing to throw labor's support behind politicians in the big-business-controlled Democratic and Republican parties.

Young Socialist Alliance discusses rise in student str

By José G. Pérez

NEW YORK—Meeting here June 1-4, the national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance held a rich discussion on the YSA's expanding opportunities for winning young people to socialist ideas, especially on the college and high school campuses.

The national committee meeting—or plenum, as such gatherings are called—is the highest decision-making body of the YSA between its annual conventions. The recent plenum was attended by nearly 100 people—members of the national committee, organizers of YSA chapters, and observers.

The heart of the plenum discussion focused on a dramatic upswing in large demonstrations by young people over the past spring. How the YSA can best participate in these protests—ranging from antiracist actions to marches against nuclear power and nuclear weapons—and how to win more young people to the socialist movement was the theme of the four-day meeting.

A framework for the discussion was set by the tasks and perspectives re-



CHUCK PETRIN Militant/José G. Pérez

port presented by YSA National Secretary Chuck Petrin on behalf of the outgoing national executive committee.

Other reports from the NEC also centered largely on opportunities offered by the continuing youth radicali-

zation and especially the upturn in protest activity. These reports were on the Black movement, presented by Osborne Hart, and on the women's liberation movement, presented by YSA National Chairperson Cathy Sedwick.

Another report, by Susie Berman, took up the YSA and its left-wing political opponents.

In addition, the NEC presented a report by Paul Mailhot on organizationally strengthening the YSA, especially its financial functioning. Another report, presented by Miguel Zárate, took up the progress made by the YSA's cothinkers around the world in building revolutionary socialist youth organizations.

Nat'l convention set

The plenum voted to schedule a national convention of the YSA for Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, December 28-January 1.

The meeting heard greetings from the Socialist Workers Party, presented by SWP Political Committee member Betsey Stone, and from Gary Watson of the Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire, sister organization of the SWP in Canada.

Petrin began the tasks and perspectives discussion by placing it in the context of the main political conclusions drawn by the YSA at its past convention.

First, there is a crisis of capitalism today. This is not just a temporary economic downturn but a prolonged—and irreversible—economic and social instability.

Second, the capitalists are trying to solve this crisis by driving down the standard of living of working people. This necessarily means not only attacks on real wages but also on the democratic rights of working people. It means attempts to intensify the oppression of women and of Blacks and other oppressed nationalities in order to keep the working class divided.

Third, the working class is the only social force sufficiently powerful to beat back the ruling-class offensive and permanently put an end to all such attacks by abolishing capitalism. Under the impact of the ruling-class offensive, many workers are becoming radicalized, Petrin said. Class-struggle ideas are gaining a wider hearing today than ever before among broad layers of workers.

An effective fight against the ruling-class offensive, the YSA believes, is hamstrung by the trade-union officialdom and the misleaders of the major women's and Black organizations, who are politically tied to the Democratic Party. These misleaders tell working people to place their trust in the two-party system, subordinating their own needs to an alliance with capitalist politicians who claim to be "friends of labor."

Central to overcoming this crisis of leadership is building the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party into mass revolutionary organizations.

Petrin said that one of the most explosive features of capitalist society today is the unrest and discontent among youth.

Youth unemployment

In his summary remarks, Petrin explained the situation that faces young people today.



Militant photo

"Young people face permanent depression unemployment rates. The unemployment rate for young people has gone from 40 percent to 36 percent, and the government claims a big victory. And for Black and Chicano youth, the unemployment rate is 60 or 70 percent in some cities.

"The arms race is the scariest situation of all, because in the most clear-cut sense it's the question of life and death for our generation.

"Young people read in the newspaper and see on television sober discussion by government and Pentagon officials of the neutron bomb versus the hydrogen bomb. . . . You can't help but be scared to death in that kind of situation.

"This spring we had a chance to take a good look at the present state of the student movement," Petrin said.

"There were more rallies, marches, and protests led by students or built by students than even the *Young Socialist* and *Militant* combined could report.

Greetings from the SWP

Following are excerpts from the greetings to the national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance presented by Betsey Stone on behalf of the political committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

As I've been listening to the discussion, there's one thought that keeps coming to mind again and again. That's the idea that the prospects for building the YSA look very good.

There are two sides to this. One is not so new. That is, we've been aware of the deep-going questioning among students, that students are interested in socialist ideas, that they're questioning a lot of things in this society.

And then there's another side that's new. And that is an upturn in activity, in action, in protest. Just think about the one fact that a week ago here in New York City there were more than 15,000 people marching against nuclear weapons and nuclear power.

This peace movement is important. We support it. We want to be part of it. It's against one of the most beastly aspects of this capitalist system.

Along with this we have the anti-nuclear power movement, which is big and growing. Some of the biggest actions on this issue to date came this spring.

Also this spring there have been many large demonstrations against racism, against racism in the United States and also in South Africa. Many of these demonstrations were predominantly Black and were organized by students.

Then there's the women's movement, with growing support for the July 9 March on Washington for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

There's also the student support for the miners' strike. Many students want to know more about the important new developments in the labor

movement. And they want to link up with a fighting labor movement.

Another sign that a new breeze is blowing is the response to the Héctor Marroquín defense effort. I think the YSA deserves commendations for the job it is doing in this defense work. We've gotten a lot of support for Héctor. Students have responded not only because they are for Héctor's right to political asylum, but because of the kind of person he is. They come to hear him speak because they are attracted to somebody who is fighting the system, who is standing up.

Héctor expresses many of the things young people feel today, and they are anxious to hear what he has to say, including what he has to say about socialism.

Students today are very suspicious about this capitalist system. They don't like the idea of subordinating human needs to profit.

The problem is they don't know what the alternative is. They don't know what socialism is, what social forces can bring it about. But many are looking for answers.

So this is a time for socialists to strengthen our efforts to get out our ideas. Because it's a political climate and situation where we can win more young people to the socialist movement.



BETSEY STONE Militant/Eric Simpson

adders iggles



Reiko Obata, Arnold Weissberg, and Ron Payne

These actions involved more people and covered a broader range of issues than anything we've seen in a long time."

Petrin outlined some of the protests in his report. Other examples were cited by YSA leaders during the four-day discussion.

Some 10,000 people marched in Washington, D.C., on April 15 demanding reversal of the Bakke decision, the lawsuit attacking affirmative action that is now before the Supreme Court. This was preceded by local demonstrations in many cities.

Then, on May 27, between 15,000 and 20,000 people rallied in front of the United Nations in New York City to protest nuclear arms and nuclear weapons. Some 6,000 protested nuclear weapons production in Rocky Flats, Colorado. Five thousand marched on a Trident submarine base in Bangor, Washington. YSA leaders reported a growth of local antinuke coalitions and actions.

Eight thousand rallied in Washington, D.C., March 18 demanding freedom for the Wilmington Ten. One week later, 4,000 high school-age Blacks turned out in the capital demanding jobs.

About 2,500 rallied in Chicago April 29 demanding ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. Students comprised an important part of the march, as did steel and auto workers.

Thousands have participated in demonstrations this spring responding to right-wing attacks on gay rights.

Campus actions

YSA leaders reported on many significant campus struggles.

Some 2,000 students marched in New York City to save York College, a predominantly Black and Puerto Rican school in the City University of New York system.

At Hostos College, also a part of the CUNY system, students demanding adequate facilities marched, rallied, and finally occupied a building.

At the University of California at Los Angeles law school, students shut down the law school, forcing the administration to retreat from plans to slash Chicano enrollment in half.

And in Houston, hundreds of young Chicanos rebelled against police terror during a traditional Cinco de Mayo celebration in Moody Park.

Antiapartheid struggles

Thousands of Blacks took part in African Liberation Day activities in Washington, D.C., and other cities.

There have been protests demanding an end to university complicity with South Africa at dozens of campuses across the country. Schools where divestment protests were held included such supposedly conservative campuses as Harvard, Yale, and Massachusetts Institute of Technology, as well as very large public universities such as University of Minnesota, University of Wisconsin, and University of California at Berkeley.

Brian Williams, a YSA leader in the coal mining center of Morgantown, West Virginia, and several other speakers described student activities in support of the miners during their 110-day strike. The miners' success in beating back this employer attempt to destroy their union, he said, was a big inspiration to students to also stand up against ruling-class attacks.

Darren Crown from San Jose discussed the capitalist media barrage claiming that the student movement is dead. He explained he'd been watching a "Today Show" interview with James Simon Kunen, who was a student at Columbia University at the time of the 1968 upsurge there. Kunen wrote a book about the struggle called *The Strawberry Statement*.

As Kunen and the interviewer were droning on about how the student movement was dead, Crown reported, the interview was cut short by a student protest demanding the university divest itself of holdings in companies that support apartheid by investing in South Africa.

In his report, Petrin stressed that the most important aspect of these protests is not their size or the demands of any particular demonstration. It is the broad scope of activities in which students are involved today.

The desire of students to take action has meant that protests called around a wide range of issues, sponsored by many diverse groups, have attracted thousands of young people. The YSA aims to throw itself into building such actions and to join with other groups in promoting them.

Building YSA

Petrin explained that the growing anticapitalist sentiment on the campuses presents big opportunities to win young people to socialism. These opportunities become widened during a period when there is an upturn in protests.

One important conclusion drawn by the YSA National Committee through

On to July 9

Among the most important actions of the June 1-4 plenum of the Young Socialist Alliance National Committee was a decision to "pull out all stops" in support of the July 9 March on Washington For the Equal Rights Amendment.

In a major report to the meeting, YSA National Chairperson Cathy Sedwick pointed out the stakes in the fight over the ERA: "A victory for the ERA would be a victory for the entire working class."

"This demonstration is a tremendous opportunity for the YSA, and we want to completely throw ourselves into building it," Sedwick said. "This is a campaign for all women and men members—the whole YSA."

During the discussion, YSA leaders from all parts of the country reported on progress already made in spreading the word about the demonstration, which was initiated by the National Organization for Women.

Salm Kolis reported that in Baltimore, NOW had initiated a labor planning meeting that was supported by the president of the Maryland AFL-CIO and leaders of locals of the United Steelworkers, Teamsters, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Communication Workers of America, and other unions.



CATHY SEDWICK Militant/José G. Pérez

Jo Della-Giustina reported that in Chicago, the Black organization Operation PUSH has become actively involved in promoting ERA actions, as have leaders of District 31 of the United Steelworkers of America.

In her report, Sedwick stressed that women and men mobilizing for the Equal Rights Amendment are also likely to be very interested in socialist ideas. The YSA, she said, wants to introduce as many people as possible to socialist literature and win them to the YSA.

its discussions was that the YSA must keep campuses and high schools as the main arenas of its political activities, making sure that the largest possible number of YSA members are in a position to participate in student activities.

Petrin said that because of the diversity of issues and political opportunities, the activity of YSA chapters would vary from city to city. Within that framework, the national executive committee proposed five national campaigns that every YSA chapter can actively participate in:

- Supporting the national march on Washington called for July 9 by the National Organization for Women in support of the Equal Rights Amendment.
- Defense of Héctor Marroquín, a

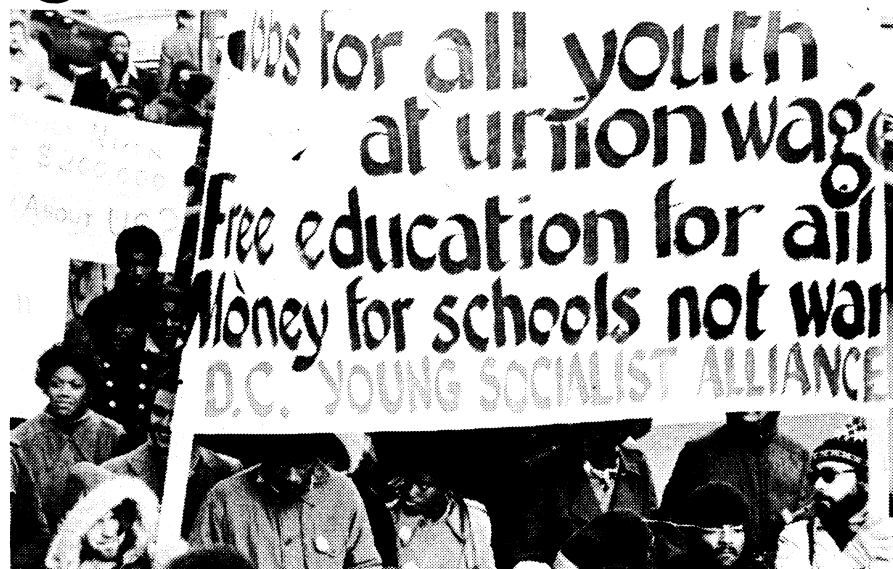
member of the YSA National Committee whom the U.S. government is trying to deport to Mexico, where he would face certain imprisonment and torture for his political ideas.

- Sales of the *Young Socialist* newspaper, the voice of the YSA. During the spring, YSA chapters conducted a very successful sales campaign, meeting two out of three months their goal of selling 4,000 copies monthly. Given this achievement, the national executive committee proposed holding a fall sales campaign with a slightly higher goal.

- Support to Socialist Workers Party election campaigns.

- Stepped-up education on the basic theory and program of the socialist movement and on issues confronting revolutionaries today.

Join the YSA



The fight for jobs . . . for education . . . for an end to racism and sexism . . . The Young Socialist Alliance is actively involved in all these struggles and in the fight for a socialist America. If you agree with our goals . . . Join us!

- ☐ I want to join the YSA.
- ☐ Send me more information.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$1 for a six-month subscription to the 'Young Socialist,' the YSA's monthly newspaper. (50¢ for high school students.)

Name _____ Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

School _____

Clip and mail to: YSA, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

What was accomplished in 'Militant' sales

By Nelson Blackstock

This spring the Socialist Workers Party carried out a ten-week campaign of expanded sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, the biweekly Spanish-language socialist magazine.

This was similar to sales campaigns held during the past several years. But in some ways it was different. It zeroed in on accomplishing several specific goals.

First of all, it aimed at boosting and regularizing circulation of the press in plants and factories across the country. This was to be done through both stepped-up sales at plant gates and through sales by socialists on the job.

This decision was inspired by evi-

dence of a new spirit of militancy and receptivity to socialist proposals among workers today.

Two major strikes during the past year indicate this new mood. First was last fall's strike of iron ore miners, members of the United Steelworkers union, on the Mesabi Range in Minnesota. Then there was the big coal miners' strike, still in progress when the sales drive opened.

In both instances, circulation efforts directed at these workers had been met by a warm response. This pointed to greater potential for boosting the readership of the *Militant* among trade unionists nationwide.

A second thing the drive did was to focus on *Militant* sales at political events. This meant establishing a norm of making the *Militant* available at talks, films, demonstrations, and meetings likely to attract people interested in reading this paper.

Another focus was on sales at college campuses. Participating in the drive was the Young Socialist Alliance. The object was not only for students to sell on campus, but also for nonstudents to aid in circulating the paper there.

On top of this, there was a continuing stress on selling the paper on street corners and shopping areas where working people live, particularly in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities.

This was the first single-issue sales drive for *Perspectiva Mundial*. A major place for these sales is in areas frequented by Spanish-speaking people.

With these objectives in mind, SWP branches in forty-one cities around the country adopted weekly quotas. Altogether these quotas totaled 6,670 *Militants* and *PMs*.

The object of the drive was to hit the weekly branch quotas each and every week of the drive.

Results mixed

That is a summary of what we were out to accomplish. The results were mixed.

First, let's look at the last objective of the drive mentioned above—the goal of meeting the local quotas on a regular weekly basis. On the average, only 36 percent of the cities made their goals in any given week. This is a serious shortcoming. The reasons for this need to be examined.

One possible explanation for such a situation could be that there is a downturn in interest in issues covered by the paper and a growing conservatism.

But the evidence clearly indicates that this is not the case. In fact, this spring and early summer, in addition to the miners' strike, we have seen a series of demonstrations indicating a new upswing in interest in questions this paper is concerned with. This



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Sales at Salt Lake City's Eimco Foundry

includes demonstrations around the *Bakke* decision, unemployment, nuclear power and nuclear war, Africa, and the upcoming march on Washington July 9, sponsored by the National Organization for Women, for the Equal Rights Amendment.

Another indication that a downturn in the objective political situation was not behind the slower-than-projected rate of sales is the fact that some cities were able to do quite well on the drive.

Salt Lake City, for example, made its goal every single week of the drive. The socialists there started out with a quota of 90 and in the fourth week of the drive raised it to 125.

The key to Salt Lake's success is quite simply that socialists there are convinced that selling the *Militant* is one of the most important things they do every week.

Organizing the drive

When plans for the drive were announced, they began making careful preparations locally to effectively launch it. The branch's executive committee and the entire membership had a thorough discussion about the sales drive and what they hoped to get out of it.

Particularly high stress went to the community street sales aspect of the drive. Normally, everybody in the branch went out for a substantial amount of time on Saturday.

A well-organized, effectively led campaign proved not to be something that taxed the resources of the branch. On the contrary, the success in the sales drive gave a lift to all the other areas of work.

Another city that did comparatively well is New York. Again, the local leadership gave considerable attention to the campaign, giving it extremely high priority.

Once more, even before the campaign officially opened, socialists were mapping out plans for it.

The sales directors of the six New York branches met regularly to coordinate city-wide work on the drive. If one branch in the city was having difficulty in the drive, the slack would be taken up by another branch in a position to give the needed extra push.

New York City made its goal every week but three.

"Our problem these weeks was that we simply neglected to give it the kind of attention it needed," said Linda Jenness, New York SWP organizer. "We could have made it those weeks, too. But we failed to compensate for other things we were doing, and our efforts slipped."

The failure of cities to make their weekly quotas can be attributed, to one degree or another, to a failure to make press circulation a central aspect of political work during the spring.

Impressive gains

Nonetheless, impressive gains were made during the course of the drive. In all, some 53,261 copies of the *Militant* were bought. That means thousands of new readers were exposed to a socialist newspaper for the first time. They got a chance to read the *Militant's* presentation of the important news and to read socialist proposals for how to solve the problems they face. Out of these new readers will come regular

Special sales of 'jobs' issue planned

Next week's *Militant* will have a special four-page feature titled, "Why Can't Everybody Have A Job?" This supplement will contain a proposed bill drafted by the 1978 Socialist Workers Party candidates on how to create jobs for all. An accompanying article will explain the causes and effects of unemployment.

Socialists around the country are making special plans to get this issue into the hands of as many young people, Blacks, unionists, women, and others as possible.

"Since this feature in the *Militant* is a proposal by the 1978 candidates," Bob Schwarz, SWP national campaign director, noted, "it will be a good focus for campaign activities. Campaign committees are planning sales at plant gates where we have established sales, at unemployment offices and in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities."

The supplement will soon be available as a four-page tabloid reprint—in both English and Spanish—for distribution as a piece of campaign literature. Schwartz suggests that "copies of the bill can be taken to work and used as a basis for discussions with co-workers."

This issue will be of special interest to young people. Members of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance will be working closely together to plan ways to use the bill to reach students on high school and college campuses.

WHY CAN'T EVERYBODY HAVE A JOB?

A special 'Militant' feature coming soon

Millions are desperate for a job. But the government has turned its back on the unemployed—while big-business economists juggle figures to hide the reasons for mass joblessness. This major statement by the 1978 Socialist Workers Party candidates explains the truth about unemployment. It presents realistic proposals for full employment, and tells how the unions, the unemployed, Blacks, women, and youth can organize to win jobs for all.

On sale June 23

drive

readers, and new members of the socialist movement.

During one week alone, 11,024 copies of the paper were bought. This was the special issue with a supplement on the miners' strike and its lessons for all working people. The response to this issue was another favorable barometer of the receptivity to socialist ideas.

Plant-gate sales

Through the course of the drive, regular plant-gate sales were established, to one degree or another, in each of the forty-one cities taking part in the drive.

The rate of sales at plant gates tended to vary widely from city to city and from location to location. In most instances, they began very modestly. But they will grow over time, as the *Militant* begins to make a name for itself and workers come to know what to expect from it.

A good example of this can be seen in sales in Houston, particularly at the Hughes Tool plant, where consistent sales over time have produced a sizable body of regular readers. This is most likely to happen when there are socialists working inside the plant, as there are at Hughes.

Sales by workers on the job have been a positive part of the campaign. Some of the largest and most regular sales have been in the auto plants in Detroit, where several socialists now find they are able to sell small bundles.

Aggressive exploration of new sales sites produced some outstanding results. In Arizona, socialists from Phoenix began going to the huge copper mine in Ratan, where they were selling close to fifty copies a week of the issues on the coal miners' strike.

Socialist railroad workers in both Chicago and Kansas City have been very successful in selling the paper to workers at rail yards, and not just at the yards where they work.

'Perspectiva Mundial'

The sales campaign laid the basis for regular single-issue sales of *Perspectiva Mundial*. These sales are centered in the communities of Spanish-speaking people. By far the largest number of *PMs* were sold in New York City and Los Angeles.

But *PMs* were bought in many other cities. Most were sold in shopping areas frequented by people whose main language is Spanish. On the average, these sales seem to go much faster than *Militant* sales.

Another opportunity for *PM* sales is at plant gates and sales to co-workers on the job.

Headway was made in the goal of selling more papers on college campuses during the spring. Reports coming in from cities around the country showed a trend in this direction, although some cities did much better than others.

Most of the papers were sold by students, members of the YSA. For most of the drive, the YSA was also engaged in its own campaign to sell the monthly *Young Socialist*. During February, March, and April, the YSA sold an average of about 4,000 copies of the *Young Socialist*.

Reports on sales at political events indicate consistent progress on this front. Some of the best sales were at anti-Bakke protests.

Now that the drive is over, the main objective during the summer is to maintain the regularity of workplace, campus, and political-event sales. Opportunities for these sales are there twelve months of the year, and we want to be there with our paper. Election campaign tables provide a good focus for community sales during the summer.

The lessons of this drive will be useful in mapping out future sales campaign efforts.

Devlin, de Beauvoir back Marroquin

By José G. Pérez

Irish freedom fighter Bernadette Devlin McAliskey and French writer Simone de Beauvoir are among the well-known international figures who have rallied to the defense of Héctor Marroquín, a young trade unionist and socialist who is fighting deportation to Mexico.

The Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, which is coordinating support for his fight, has issued an "International Appeal to Save the Life of Héctor Marroquín." The appeal calls upon the U.S. government "to grant political asylum to Héctor Marroquín" and notes that deportation would mean "jail, torture, and possibly death." It explains that "a victory for Marroquín would be a victory for human rights the world over."

The appeal has received especially broad backing in Mexico, where Marroquín was a student activist in the early 1970s. There the appeal has been endorsed by many trade-union, campus, and political organizations.

The appeal was also signed by the Revolutionary Workers Party (Mexican sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party), Mexican Workers Party, and Mexican Socialist Workers Party.

In Denmark, the appeal was circulated by members of the Revolutionary Socialist League, the Trotskyist group there. Signers include the Left Wing Socialist Party, the Communist Party, and the parliamentary group of the Socialist People's Party.

In Costa Rica, activists have formed a Costa Rican Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee.

In a letter to U.S. Immigration Commissioner Leonel Castillo, the committee enclosed signatures of more than 60 university professors, 160 students, 20 trade-union leaders, and 40 workers on petitions backing Marroquín.

"Not to give Marroquín political asylum, thereby collaborating with the repression of the Mexican government, would be another heavy blow to the democratic image your government wishes to present to the world," the committee wrote to Castillo.

In New Zealand, supporters of Marroquín's right to asylum collected the signatures of sixty-six trade-union officials, student leaders, and civil liberties activists.

In the Dominican Republic, supporters of the socialist magazine *Perspectiva Mundial* have initiated a campaign on Marroquín's behalf.

The U.S. Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee can be contacted at 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10014.

Signers of int'l appeal

Mexico

Lucina Nava Alegria, Revolutionary Workers Party; Heriberto Castillo, general secretary, Mexican Workers Party; Rafael Aguilar Talamantes, general secretary, Mexican Socialist Workers Party; Enrique Pino Hidalgo, executive committee, Independent Union of Workers of the Autonomous Metropolitan University.

Eufemio Porras Cortez, organizational secretary, Section 50, National Union of Educational Workers; Felipe Martínez Seriano, rector, Benito Juárez Autonomous University, Oaxaca; German Cisneros Farias, director, Normal High School of the state of Nuevo León.

Francisco Sepulveda, president, Section 20 Union of Workers of the University of Nuevo León; Francisco Cantú Garcia, general secretary of the Union of Workers of Normal High School of the state of Nuevo León; Valentin Rangel Garcia, president of the strike committee, Section 68, Union of Miners, and Metal Workers of the Mexican Republic.

Denmark

Ebbe Shou Hansen, Left Wing Socialist Party; Ingmar Wagner, Communist Party; Ebba Strange,

parliamentary group of the Socialist People's Party; Soren Soloft Madsen, attorney; Ib Dan Jensen, attorney; Bo Schack, United Council of (High School and University) Students.

Costa Rica

Carlos Monge Alfaro, former rector, University of Costa Rica; Guillermo Joseph Wignal, Black movement leader; Manuel Delgado, former president, Federation of Students of the University of Costa Rica; Angel Rufz Zuniga, Union of Employees of the University of Costa Rica.

New Zealand

Ken Douglas, president, New Zealand Drivers Federation, member of the Federation of Labor National Executive; Wes Cameron, president, Canterbury Trades Council, member of the Federation of Labor National Executive; Tony Lane, national secretary, Young Socialists; Leon Morel, secretary, Rubber Workers Union; Con Devitt, national secretary, Boilermakers Federation; Henry Stubbs, national secretary, New Zealand Tramways Federation; Noa Nawalowalo, president, Pacific Islands branch of the Labour Party.



HECTOR MARROQUIN

...Prop. 13

Continued from page 6

\$98 million tax cut. Standard Oil, \$13.1 million. Lockheed, \$9.5 million. The Bank of America estimates a seven-cents-per-share increase in annual earnings," Halstead explains.

"The 70 percent of Californians who live in their own homes will have to divide up what's left," he says.

Halstead points out that the promoters of Proposition 13 also appealed to racism to garner a big vote for the measure. They appealed to those who want to gut welfare funding, money for busing to desegregate schools, and other such programs.

Not surprisingly, opposition to 13 ran highest among Blacks and Chicanos. A *Los Angeles Times*-Channel 2

survey conducted as voters came out of the polls revealed that a clear majority of Blacks and Chicanos turned the measure down.

So did voters in San Francisco, where the majority of residents rent their homes and apartments.

Proposition 8

One reason that the Proposition 13 swindle worked was that voters were offered no meaningful alternative to it.

"Union officials joined liberal Democratic and Republican politicians in backing Proposition 8," Halstead explains. "But this supposed alternative provided no real relief from inflation-fueled tax increases. It called for only a 30 percent tax cut, plus a thirty-eight-dollar annual sop to renters.

"At bottom, Proposition 8 was based on the same idea as 13—homeowners

have to choose between lower taxes or cutbacks.

"To build a movement that could have defeated Proposition 13," says Halstead, "the trade unions needed to challenge this divide-and-rule myth. They needed a program that cut across the rulers' attempts to pit overtaxed homeowners against other working people.

"And the only way to do that is to demand that the *burden of taxation be taken off the backs of working people altogether.*" [For the socialist program on taxes, see page 6].

"Unfortunately," says Halstead, "that kind of movement was not built before the election.

"But it's not too late," he says. "We need that movement today to fight against the cutbacks, against the layoffs, and against the crushing burden on California taxpayers."

In Review

'Biko'

The Biko Inquest. A play by Norman Fenton and Jon Blair. With Fritz Weaver.

On September 12, 1977, Steve Biko died—tortured to death by South African security police. Although many Black detainees had been murdered in South African prisons before, Biko's stature as a Black leader of the struggle against the racist apartheid regime insured that this crime would not go unnoticed.

A wave of revulsion swept the world as the South African government issued a series of incredible explanations—"He was weak from a hunger strike. . . . He had a kidney disease. . . . He went berserk. . . . He beat his own head against a wall."

In an attempt to put the stamp of legitimacy and "due process" on its cover-up, the apartheid regime

Theater

staged an official inquest, the result of which was no surprise to anyone: the security police were found not guilty of being "involved by act or omission" in Biko's death.

The Biko Inquest is based on the transcripts of the three weeks of testimony. In spite of the inevitability of the outcome—or perhaps because of it—attorney Kentridge (Fritz Weaver), representing the Biko family, was allowed a great deal of leeway in cross-examining police and medical officials involved in the case. In effect, as the advocate representing the state, the police, and the doctors complained, Kentridge succeeded in putting the South African regime on trial. And that is what makes the play interesting.

The audience plays a role by laughing at the same points at which the actual courtroom observers must have laughed—at particularly ludicrous bits of twisted logic from the police officials. One witness reacts to the laughter by pointing a threatening finger at the audience and letting loose a diatribe against the "foreign press" and "liberals."

Since the play is based on a real event, everyone knows in advance how it will end. But again, so did courtroom observers during the actual hearings. So the play is not weakened by foreknowledge of the verdict; the drama is in the unfolding of the truth about Biko's ordeal.



Fritz Weaver (left) and John Vennema in a scene from 'The Biko Inquest'

One theme that runs throughout the police testimony is the claim that they believed Biko was faking symptoms, "shamming," and therefore needed no special attention. Kentridge proves that police doctors knew there were red blood cells in Biko's cerebral spinal fluid, an indication of brain damage, and asks how Biko could have "shammed" that.

After expert medical testimony establishes that Biko died from brain damage caused by three or more blows to the head, Kentridge asks one of the doctors whether medical history had ever recorded a case of anyone committing suicide by beating his head against a wall in such a way. "No," answers the doctor, "but there's always a first time in medicine."

This kind of testimony produces a surreal effect: the witnesses, while at times a trifle nervous or embarrassed, are fully aware that no matter how self-contradictory or illogical the lies they tell, no harm will come to them. They will not be charged with perjury or contempt of court. And the verdict will say that they had been telling the truth.

Kentridge, confronting a doctor with undeniable proof that the doctor had lied, says, "Your statement was false."

"That is correct," the doctor says. A shrug of the shoulders. So what?

Kentridge also shows that the security police violated a long list of laws in their illegal persecution of Steve Biko. But what of it? "We don't act according to statutes," a police official declares. Pretoria's chief magistrate, expressionless, says nothing.

Kentridge had the powerful advantages of logic and truth on his side; the power of the apartheid state was on the other. So in the South African courtroom, Kentridge "lost." But in the more important court of world public opinion—wherever people see this play—Kentridge wins every time.

Antipartheid activists may recognize authors Fenton and Blair as the creators of the well-known documentary about the Soweto uprisings in 1976—*There Is No Crisis*. Although only scheduled to show a week or two more in New York, *The Biko Inquest* is slated to be aired by the Public Broadcasting System and for performance by a number of regional theater groups during coming months. Hopefully this will help give the play the wide audience it deserves.

—Cliff Conner

'James T. Farrell'

James T. Farrell: The Revolutionary Socialist Years. By Alan Wald. New York University Press. 1978. 190 pages. \$15.00 cloth. \$4.95 paper.

During the 1930s a movement of "Trotskyist intellectuals" came into being whose members were to leave their impress on American culture.

Among them were persons such as the literary critics Edmund Wilson,

These intellectuals became affected by Trotskyism as a result of Nazism, and the Spanish Civil War. The twists and turns of the Communist Party—from its sectarian attacks on "social fascism" to its opportunist embrace of Roosevelt, and the grotesqueries of the Moscow Trials—also made an impact on them.

Trotsky himself, however, was skeptical about *Partisan Review*, the magazine which became their organ. He wondered about the depth of this magazine's commitment to Marxism, since the people associated with the *Review* had experienced in action only its Stalinist distortion.

Indeed, the pressures of World War II and of the Cold War that succeeded it, together with the war-engendered rise from the depression, soon pushed these intellectuals away from Trotskyism. George Novack is the only one from this milieu who remains committed to Marxism. Breaking firmly with the bourgeois world, Novack dedicated his life to the cause of revolutionary socialism as a leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

James T. Farrell was a central figure among these "Trotskyist intellectuals." A prolific novelist whose *Studs Lonigan* trilogy early established his reputation, Farrell's place in the history of American literature is secure. Indeed, a

recent revival of interest in him indicates that his place may be larger than was assigned to him during a previous period of comparative neglect.

Alan Wald's carefully researched book is a sign of this new interest, to which Wald himself has contributed. Wald, who is engaged in a larger project studying the entire movement of the "Trotskyist intellectuals" of the 1930s and 1940s, concerns himself with Farrell's relations with Trotskyism and its reflection in his writing. He does not trace in detail Farrell's other intellectual roots or relationships or his later development, which have already been explored.

Wald finds that Farrell studied Marxism more closely than did the other "Trotskyist intellectuals." That he was more politically active. That he collaborated more closely with the Socialist Workers Party. And that he was later in abandoning revolutionary socialism.

Farrell was influential in drawing other radical intellectuals into opposition to the Stalinists. He wrote some salutary critiques of the Stalinist vulgarization of Marxist literary theory.

He played an important role in the establishment of the John Dewey Commission to determine the validity or invalidity of the charges made against Trotsky in the Moscow Trials. Farrell

also helped defend leaders of the Socialist Workers Party against the Smith Act frame-ups during World War II.

Wald explains the ways Farrell was different from other members of the "Trotskyist intellectuals" (his Irish plebeian background, his struggle against Catholicism, his subject matter and literary technique as a novelist, his stronger character). At the same time, Wald also demonstrates that Farrell's intellectual development was typical of this group as a whole. They all attempted to reconcile the pragmatism of Dewey with the Marxism of Trotsky—ultimately abandoning Trotskyism in the process.

Today, while radicalism among intellectuals is nowhere near as great as during the 1930s, there are quite a number of radicals among younger faculty members at the universities. Many of them became politically active while students in the 1960s. As the Socialist Workers Party grows and takes more of a leading role in labor's struggles during coming years, more and more of these young intellectuals will be attracted to Trotskyism.

They will constitute a new generation of "Trotskyist intellectuals," whose course of development, coming under different conditions, need not parallel that of the previous generation.

—Paul Siegel

Books

Lionel Trilling, Mary McCarthy, Philip Rahv, and the young Irving Howe; the novelists James T. Farrell and the young Saul Bellow; the historians Louis Hacker and Harold Isaacs; the art historian Meyer Schapiro; the art critic Harold Rosenberg; and the journalist Dwight MacDonald.

If only briefly, all of these and many others were to some degree influenced by Trotsky's ideas.

World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

Thousands of workers strike in Brazil

By Fred Murphy

The biggest labor actions in Brazil since 1968 took place in the industrial suburbs of São Paulo from May 12 to May 23. About 50,000 workers in more than twenty automobile, rubber, and electrical-equipment plants were involved in a series of work stoppages centering around the demand for a 20% wage increase.

The strike by 10,000 workers that began May 15 at Ford Motor Company's assembly plant was typical. It was described in the May 24 issue of the São Paulo weekly magazine *Veja*:

Last week, as happens every day at Ford's Rudge Ramos installation in São Bernardo do Campo, the workers continued to get off the buses chartered by the company. Walking rapidly, they headed for the time clocks to punch in. Already in their work clothes, they took their places beside the machines in their respective sections. However, even after the sirens had sounded to announce the beginning of the work day, the workers continued to talk about the Brazilian football team's last game or about the rain that fell during the night. At the lunch hour, disciplined lines were formed in front of the serving counters of the kitchen—the only section where normal activity could be observed. After a rest, . . . everyone went back to their work places until the sirens sounded to mark the end of the shift. The workers then reboarded the buses as quickly as they had arrived and returned to their homes.

The strikes began May 12 when 2,500 workers at the Saab-Scania assembly plant in São Bernardo refused to work. On May 17, the 14,500 workers at the Mercedes-Benz plant joined the movement, and they were quickly followed by workers at Chrysler, Kharmann-Ghia, General Electric, Perkins Motors, Otis Elevators, Firestone, Pirelli, and other factories in São Bernardo and Santo André.

'Went on for days'

Some of these stoppages lasted only fifteen minutes, while others went on for a number of days. At Volkswagen, the workers carried out a one-hour warning strike on May 17 and began a general stoppage May 20.

With the exception of a few locally owned plants, all the strikes took place at factories run by big multinational corporations.

The strikes were well organized and disciplined. *Veja* reported:

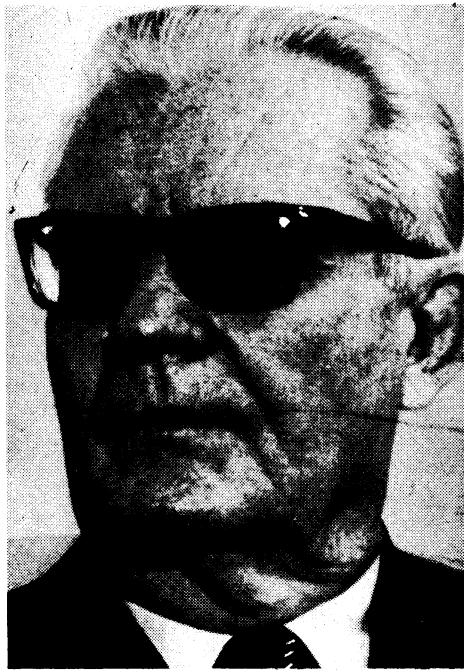
. . . in none of the plants was it possible to detect signs of the movement from outside. There were no pickets, placards, or agitated voices emerging from the gatherings. No debates, speeches, or demonstrations. Nor was any obvious leadership to be seen. Even within the production units, the atmosphere hardly revealed quickly what was going on. The order to strike, for example, was transmitted from one to another by word of mouth.

The last time strikes occurred in Brazil on such a scale was in April 1968, when 15,000 workers in more than twenty plants in Belo Horizonte left their jobs to demand a 50% wage increase. The government granted 33% but then crushed the strikes with troop mobilizations and the threat of arrest and court-martial of strikers.

This time, the Geisel regime responded much more cautiously. For several days Labor Minister Arnaldo Prieto did not even acknowledge that the strikes were taking place. The work stoppages were declared illegal May 19 by the Regional Labor Tribunal, but no action was taken against the workers.

Under regime's control

Brazilian unions are under government control. Under the military regime's Law 4.330, the unions can call



Government of Ernesto Geisel (left) is attempting to crush labor unrest through harsh laws

strikes only after tortuous legal proceedings, and are totally prohibited from demanding wage increases higher than the yearly *dissídios* sanctioned by the government. Nevertheless, the regime acquiesced when Saab-Scania agreed May 16 to consider the workers' demands and opened talks with the Sindicato dos Metalúrgicos (Metalworkers Union). It was only then that the union began playing a formal role in the strikes.

The immediate issue in the strikes was the auto industry's plan to grant only a 24% wage increase instead of the government-authorized *dissídio* of 39%. (A 15% raise had already been advanced during the previous year to offset inflation.) The 1977 inflation rate was 38%, and it is likely that that figure will be surpassed in 1978.

The average monthly wage for three-quarters of the workers at Saab-Scania is the equivalent of US\$375, and Saab workers have the highest wages in the Brazilian auto industry.

In addition to wage demands, the workers at Ford also called for reduced transportation fares, better medical assistance, and lower cafeteria prices. At Saab-Scania, the workers demanded that the management recognize their elected workers commission.

By May 23, most workers had returned to their jobs under tentative agreements similar to that reached at Ford. Ford restored the 15% hike to all those earnings up to eight times the minimum wage, and granted a 10% restoration to those earning between eight and ten times the minimum.

Added pressure on Ford had come from top officials of the United Auto Workers union (UAW) in the United States. UAW President Douglas Fraser and two other union officers telegraphed Ford's Brazil management, "vehemently" protesting an initial refusal to negotiate and saying that "we guarantee our fraternal support to the workers on strike and we will devote all our efforts to interceding with the Ford management in Detroit."

Commentators nervous

In reaction to the strikes, commentators in Brazil's capitalist press expressed concern that the government's harsh labor laws may be counterproductive. The work stoppages were the result of the "rigidity of the wage policy in force in this country," the business newspaper *Gazeta Mercantil* said.

The editors of the Rio de Janeiro daily *Jornal do Brasil* pointed out: "Strikes exist in all capitalist countries



with strong institutions and solid enterprises. If we boast of having in São Paulo a state of European caliber, and if the country has the eighth largest economy in the West, that not only means the advantage of making money. It also signifies the responsibility of living together with free institutions—including trade unions."

The government's preoccupation was somewhat different, however. An official in Brasília explained to *Veja* that "the problem with strikes is that the manipulators always appear, the ones who carry on political exploitation. Today a strike, tomorrow agitation, and after that, something worse."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Racism in Brazil

By Peter Archer

Brazilian dictator Ernesto Geisel once claimed that Brazil is "the widest experiment in racial integration that the modern world knows." This is far from the truth.

In an article in the June 5 *New York Times*, correspondent David Vidal points out that "four generations after abolition [of slavery], the vast majority of Brazilian blacks remain at the very bottom of the economic and social pyramid."

Vidal estimates that between one-third and one-half of the country's population is Black—"the most African nation outside Africa," he says. Just as in the United States, Brazilian Blacks are denied access to equal job, housing, and educational opportunities.

"There is a popular saying that 'money whitens,'" says Vidal. "An individual can make progress through different racial classifications in life by means of social achievement if his skin is light."

The government purposely excludes race classifications from cen-

sus data. When the last figures were counted for this classification twenty-eight years ago, the literacy rate for Blacks was 26 percent, as against 53 percent for whites. Ten years ago a Brazilian newspaper estimated that only 3 percent of the college student body and less than 2 percent of public employees were Black. Nothing substantial appears to have changed since then.

Despite the Geisel government's attempts to sweep the issue of racism under the rug, in recent years there has been a growing movement among Blacks against discrimination. Influenced by the Black struggle in the United States, Black nationalist sentiment and symbols have emerged in Brazil.

Like most other countries in South America, Brazil also has a sizable Indian population, which is also heavily oppressed.

The Brazilian government claims the country is a "racial paradise." But as growing numbers of Blacks and Indians move into struggle, Geisel will have a hard time maintaining that fiction.



Meaning of PRD victory in Dominican elections

The following interview was conducted by Gus Horowitz in Santo Domingo on June 3 with two revolutionary socialists: Enrique De Leon, a former general secretary of the Dominican teachers union and author of the recently published book 'Opresión y Democracia Sindical' (Oppression and Trade-Union Democracy); and Claudio Tavárez, who wrote the introduction to the book and is well known for his activity in defense of trade-union and democratic rights.

Question. What is the significance of the PRD victory in the recent elections in the Dominican Republic?*

De Leon: First of all, the May 16 elections were a big defeat for Joaquín Balaguer, the incumbent. It represented a repudiation of his twelve-year rule and of the policies he stood for.

More generally, the vote showed that the masses of working people are demanding measures to improve their living conditions and to meet their most urgent problems. In general, these demands include an agrarian reform, wage increases and a general lowering of the high cost of living, nationalization of the multinational corporations, freedom for the political prisoners, the right of the exiles to return, and other measures along these lines.

Although the electoral results were favorable to the PRD they do not mean that all those who voted for the PRD ticket consider themselves PRD supporters. The Dominican people were using the PRD as the channel to express their repudiation of the Balaguer government and to show their desire for an improvement in their conditions of life.

Q. Do you think, then, that the PRD will carry out policies that will meet the demands that the masses are raising? Will the PRD government be able to satisfy their expectations?

Tavárez: Whether the reforms that the PRD promised are carried out or not depends on several factors.

One of these is the economic crisis that the country is going through. The PRD will be inheriting a very difficult situation from the Balaguer regime,

which is supposed to leave office on August 16.

Another factor will be the role of the military-bureaucratic sectors of the bourgeoisie, those sectors that were behind the attempted coup on May 17, when they thought that their interests were threatened by the PRD election victory. Although they had to back away from the attempted coup, they will still try to preserve their interests.

Mobilization of masses

Then there will be the question of the degree of mobilization that the masses can make on behalf of their interests; this would be a pressure on the PRD to fulfill their election promises.

But there is something else to keep in mind. Even if the PRD does carry out some of its promised reforms, it would not mean that the basic needs and aspirations of the masses of people would be met.

It should be stressed that although the PRD presented a program of reforms in the elections and made many promises to the masses, it is a capitalist party. In addition, it has been evolving in a rightward direction for the past several years.

Q. What has the PRD said since the election?

Tavárez: The PRD is toning down its image. It now says that it will wipe the slate clean with respect to the past. That is, they will not touch the interests of the military-bureaucratic sectors who enriched themselves through corruption; the structure of the armed forces will not be affected; those guilty of crimes during the Balaguer regime will not be brought to justice.

As for the question of a general amnesty and the return of the exiles, PRD President-elect Antonio Guzmán has said that each case will be reviewed individually, to see if any were guilty of criminal acts. But of course, most of the political prisoners and exiles have been falsely accused of criminal acts by the Balaguer regime—that is, they were accused of being terrorists, of killing policemen, of robbing banks, and so forth. So Guzmán's stance indicates a retreat on this issue.

As for the nationalization of the multinationals, the PRD has reaffirmed that it will not challenge the multinationals. At the most it will seek to renegotiate some of the contracts—which Balaguer had already been doing.

Also significant are the PRD leaders'



Celebrations in the streets of the capital following the victory of Antonio Guzmán in last month's presidential elections in Dominican Republic.

proposals that some of the government-run enterprises—those operating at a loss—be turned over to Dominican capitalists, or to Dominican capitalists in combination with U.S. or Spanish interests. This, too, is a step backwards from their election promises.

In international affairs, Guzmán says that his government will continue the same policies towards Cuba as the Balaguer regime, that is, to establish relations with Cuba only after the United States has done so.

Guzmán also says that he will not permit Communists to hold public posts of responsibility in his government. This is a signal to the capitalists that his government will be reliable as a procapitalist government.

The statements by Guzmán and other PRD leaders on these issues also indicate that they intend to retreat on the economic and social promises that they made in the election campaign.

Q. Then what was the significance of the statements by the PRD's general secretary, Peña Gómez? As reported in some of the U.S. papers, he said that the new government would be socialist.

Tavárez: This was immediately repudiated by Guzmán, who stated categorically that his government would in no way be of a socialist type. And, he added, only he could speak for the new government.

For his part, Peña Gómez has made it clear that his remarks had been misinterpreted, and that he too firmly holds that the new government will not be a socialist one.

Q. How do you explain what occurred on May 17 when armed forces units stopped the counting of the ballots?

Tavárez: When the early election returns showed the PRD ahead, this came as a big surprise.

It had been generally expected that Balaguer would win. For several reasons. In the period prior to the elections he had been carrying out a demagogic campaign aimed at winning sectors of the masses. He could count on the support of important sectors of the bourgeoisie. He had the support of the army and the police. He was able to use the resources of the state to further his electoral campaign. And he drew on the weight of twelve years in office. He had a very important additional base of support—U.S. imperialism. All of this was combined with

repressive measures which, he calculated, would intimidate people in the elections.

So, when the initial results came in and were favorable to the PRD, the armed forces occupied the offices of the National Electoral Board and stopped the count. This occurred in the very early morning of May 17.

Attempted coup

De Leon: This represented an attempted coup by a sector of the bourgeoisie that was determined to prevent the PRD from taking over the government. Who was behind the coup? Primarily the parasitic sectors of the bourgeoisie who gained their power and wealth through the posts they held in the military and governmental apparatus during the rule of Joaquín Balaguer. That is, a bourgeois stratum within the government bureaucracy and the military. They saw the impending defeat of Balaguer as signifying their own fall—their removal from the offices that were the source of their wealth.

Q. How do you explain the collapse of the intended coup?

De Leon: For one thing, the attempted coup did not represent prior planning by the bourgeoisie as a whole. It did not even have the prior backing of all of the top sectors of the armed forces. But it did put them all on the spot. The intended coup caused a terrible problem for the bourgeoisie as a whole, as well as for the imperialists. Expecting Balaguer to win, they had intended to make a demonstration of holding relatively free elections, pledging themselves to respect the popular will and uphold the results.

Faced with the decision over what to do, it turned out that the imperialists and the Dominican ruling class as a whole, including some previously pro-Balaguer sectors, decided not to go along with a coup and to accept the transfer of government to the PRD, which, after all, is also a capitalist party.

This decision was made clear on May 18, shortly before midnight, when Balaguer made a speech saying that the counting of the ballots should resume and that the electoral results would be respected. Some of the leading sectors of the bourgeoisie issued statements along the same lines that were printed in the papers the next day. In face of this, the intended coup collapsed.

*Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (Dominican Revolutionary Party).

The main reason why the rulers decided not to back the coup was their fear of the response by the Dominican masses. The concern and outrage of the masses was very high in face of the intended coup, as you can imagine. And not only did the ruling class as a whole fear a possible mass upsurge, but they doubted the capacity of those behind the coup to maintain economic and political stability over the long run if the coup was allowed to go through. So they decided not to back it.

Q. What was the stance of the PRD leadership during these events?

De Leon: The matter was resolved through negotiations and tacit agreements not only within the pro-Balaguer wing of the bourgeoisie, but also including the PRD and American imperialism.

The main leaders of the PRD, for example, made clear their hopes to realize an accord when they called on the masses of PRD supporters not to mobilize in face of the intended coup.

'Team government'

Then, after Balaguer made his speech promising to accept the election results, Guzmán called a press conference the very next day. Among other things, he promised to refrain from any major shakeups. He promised a "team government," a government of national unity, and he said that "the institutions of the country, including the Armed Forces, will be strengthened and respected, for the good of Dominican democracy." He also promised that there would be no persecution against those associated with the Balaguer regime. And he appealed to his supporters to remain calm and refrain from mass action.

So, you had a whole series of declarations by the PRD that were the counterpart of negotiations. These assurances by the PRD, which are still being made, are meant of course to cement the ruling-class decision to accept a PRD electoral victory. But at the same time, these statements by the PRD are contrary to the hopes and expectations of the masses.

For example, when the PRD says that it will wipe the slate clean on the past, this goes against the masses' desire to do away with corruption in government. Similarly, the qualifications now placed by the PRD on freeing political prisoners or allowing the return of the exiles are a retreat from the masses' desire for a general amnesty.

Q. What do you think are the prospects ahead for the Dominican work-



El Nacional
Before elections, troops drove by headquarters of PRD every fifteen minutes. One threatened to shoot photographer who took this picture.

ing class and the mass movement as a whole?

Tavárez: The masses were against the Balaguer regime and they expect things to change now. They consider it to be a new situation. They think there will be significant changes in their living conditions and in political life. They expect the right to political organization, trade-union rights, improvement in housing, education, and health conditions. And they will be willing to struggle to obtain these demands, which they expected to gain through a PRD victory in the elections.

Opportunities open

This poses the possibility for revolutionary socialists to participate in these struggles alongside the masses, to demand not only that the government fulfill the promises that it made to the masses during the election campaign, but to raise demands that go beyond them. We can fight for nationalization of the multinational corporations, wage increases, a sliding scale of wages that would be enforced by committees of the workers—not leaving it in the hands of the government. There is a need to insist on trade-union democracy and on unity of the working class to struggle for its demands.

The aim is to mobilize the workers, the peasants, the urban and rural poor independently of the bourgeoisie, independently of the PRD, independently of the government. In this sense there is a political opening that we hope to take advantage of in helping to build an independent mass movement and an alternate leadership that will really represent the interests of the working peoples and the masses of this country.

World news notes

Win release of Spanish Trotskyists

Following protests throughout Spain, the government has been forced to release forty-eight members of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League, Spanish section of the Fourth International). The LCR members were arrested May 10 in the wake of an armed attack by ultrarightists on their headquarters in Pamplona.

In a statement released May 14, the Navarra Province Committee of the LCR said, "We express our profound thanks to our members, supporters, and friends, to the workers parties and the parties of the oppressed nationalities, to the trade unions, to the people's organizations, and to the many workers who have offered us their solidarity in these difficult days."

"We call for forming a commission to investigate the activities of the fascists and any possible ties between them and the state authorities. . . ."

9,000 march against Swiss nukes

Some 9,000 people marched in Lucens, Switzerland, Monday, May 15. The demonstration culminated a series of anti-nuclear power actions held over Whisuntide.

The Swiss socialist fortnightly *La Brèche* commented, "It was the first demonstration of this kind and scope in French-speaking Switzerland. It represents the first step toward developing a mass antinuclear movement here, modeled after the one that has existed in German-speaking Switzerland since . . . early 1975."

The demonstrators gathered in front of an unused nuclear plant in Lucens. The electric trusts want to convert the plant into a waste disposal site for nuclear fuel.

During the days before the demonstration, several region-wide demonstrations were held in Zürich and Baden, and a series of workshops on the dangers of nuclear power were held in the Lucens area.

Israel raids Lebanon again

Striking more than twenty miles into Lebanon, Israeli commandos left at least twenty-two people dead June 9. As usual, Israeli officials claimed their attack had been directed against Palestinian guerrillas. Also as usual, most of those killed by the raiders were civilians.

Washington Post correspondent William Branigin was told by one Western military attache in Beirut that the Israelis were "just getting a couple of licks in before they leave." (The Israeli regime had announced it would withdraw its troops occupying southern Lebanon on June 13.)

But such murderous raids have been a permanent feature of Israel's relations with its Arab neighbors. They have gone on for decades, and there is no reason to suppose that they will stop.

Italy, Germany enact antidemocratic laws

On June 11 a referendum vote in Italy retained the so-called Reale Law, approved by the Italian Parliament in 1975. The law gives the police almost unlimited rights to use guns, limits the right to bail, extends indefinitely the time that police can hold someone for trial, and allows detention of "suspects" even if they aren't accused of any crimes.

The Communist Party, trying to cement an alliance with the ruling Christian Democratic Party, urged its supporters to vote to retain the reactionary law. As *New York Times* correspondent Henry Tanner pointed out June 13, "They were in the delicate position of having to persuade their electorate to vote in favor of keeping a law that they had bitterly opposed as 'repressive' when it was enacted in 1975."

West Germany also enacted three new laws aimed at further restricting democratic rights in that country. They allow for greater use of wiretaps, prohibit carrying objects at demonstrations that "could be used as weapons," and allow judges in "terrorist" trials to reject "manifestly superfluous" defense motions.

Student demonstrations in Iran

The wave of protests against the shah of Iran's dictatorial rule is continuing. The Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran reports that on Thursday, June 1, a student demonstration at Tehran University was attacked by troops using tear gas, machine guns, and other automatic weapons.

CAIFI reports, "The demonstrators, predominantly women, were demanding the removal of armed commandos from their dormitories." According to eyewitnesses, dozens of students were shot and killed during the encounter. CAIFI urges messages be sent to the Iranian embassy in Washington, D.C., urging, "Troops out of the Tehran University!" "Troops out of all Iranian universities!" "Lift the news blackout on recent killings in Iran!" "End repression in Iran!"

—Peter Archer

For the very best coverage of world politics

Frankly, 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor' carries far more articles, documents, and special features about world politics than the 'Militant' has room for.

'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor' is published to help people struggling for a better world learn from each other's successes and setbacks. You can't afford to be without it. Fill in the coupon below and subscribe today.

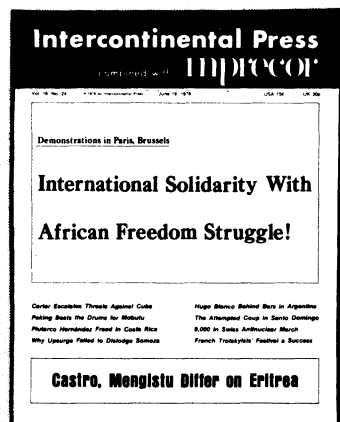
Intercontinental Press/Inprecor
Post office Box 116, Varick Street Station, New York, New York 10014

☐ Send me six months of 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.' Enclosed is twelve dollars.

☐ Send me a sample copy. Enclosed is seventy-five cents.

Name _____ Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____





MANDEL

Militant/Harry Ring



BOULDING

Militant/Harry Ring

Marxist debates procapitalist economist

By Harry Ring

SEATTLE—In an open debate, capitalism is no match for socialism.

That came through in a striking way when Ernest Mandel, the noted Marxist economist, recently debated Prof. Kenneth Boulding, a distinguished professorial partisan of capitalism.

The debate was held here May 13 under the auspices of the Institute for the Study of Contemporary Social Problems.

Mandel is a Belgian Trotskyist, a leader of the Fourth International, and author of a number of widely read books on Marxist economics, including *Marxist Economic Theory* and *Late Capitalism*.

Boulding is the author of more than thirty books and has served as an official of various scholarly organizations. He is widely regarded as a significant economic thinker.

Also participating in the debate were two economics professors from the University of Washington, and an executive associated with the Boeing Corporation. All of them, like Boulding, support capitalism.

Critique of Marxism

Professor Boulding's presentation included a good deal of wit but surprisingly little substance.

He seemed to feel that a major fault of Marxism was that it offers a systematic analysis of social and economic phenomena. "If you're clear about the world," he argued, "it's a sign you're being unrealistic."

Another fallacy of Marxism, he claimed, was what he asserted to be its failure to correctly predict future developments. "All predictions about the future," he added, "are wrong—from Marx to Jehovah's Witnesses."

Turning to Marx's labor theory of value—the theory that the value of a commodity is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor power embodied in it—Boulding said that while the theory is "excellent for ten-year-olds," and "attractive," it is grossly inadequate. He didn't explain why.

Arguing that Marx was dead wrong in declaring class struggle to be the motor force of history, Boulding said that "the awful truth . . . is that struggle is 1 percent of biological evolution and 5 percent of human history."

Arguing that "the whole concept of

class just disintegrates in a complex society," he said, "Particularly, the whole concept of the working class is extraordinarily inane."

The working class, he declared, "has no common interests; it never acts together; it has no unity."

But then, he opined, "Nobody knows what their interests are. And even when they do, they usually don't act on them."

The other procapitalist speakers on the panel did not add much to the substance of Boulding's presentation.

C. Michael Rahm, an economic consultant to the Boeing Corporation, decried the fact that increasing numbers of people take a dim view of poverty and inequitable distribution of wealth. This, he said, "is a great threat, because it is virtually impossible for any society to function on the basis of uniform distribution of income."

Mandel replies

In his one-hour presentation and subsequent summary, Mandel replied to many of these criticisms.

The evils of capitalism, he emphasized, are growing ever more threatening. He described the widespread hunger in the colonial world and the steadily increasing twin evils of unemployment and inflation in the Western capitalist countries and Japan.

As the result of an important decline in the rate of growth of the Western capitalist economy, he said, there is now a worldwide attack on the real wages of the workers as well as on their social benefits.

A correlated development, he explained, is the growing threat to democratic freedoms throughout the world. He noted the finding of Amnesty International that torture is now practiced in sixty countries in the world.

To demonstrate that these things are the product of a decaying world capitalist system, he discussed the workings of the system.

Capitalism, he explained, "is essentially a society in which those who produce—by hand and brain—who produce goods and services, have no access to their means of production . . . which are the property of others."

Because they have no other way to subsist, he continued, those who produce have to sell their labor power to those who own the means of production.

"In that sense," he observed, "we are now living in a capitalist society not only as much as in Marx's time, but much more than in Marx's time."

Mandel explained that in a society where the great majority has no other means of survival than to sell its labor power, "a universal monetary economy" is necessary.

In such a society, the drive to acquire money becomes central for nearly all human beings.

"But not all people," Mandel observed, "want to try to get money for the same reasons."

Wage workers, he explained, "by the very limitations of the wages they receive—whether they be high or low—will in their lifetime, by and large, spend what they get."

"For them, money is a means of consumption."

But another group in society, the big capitalists, tries to get more and more money for completely different purposes. Rockefeller, he noted, obviously cannot spend on consumer goods the money that he acquires.

When you're in that category, Mandel continued, "you try to get more money not for the purpose of living better—because you're already not living badly—but to get more wealth, to accumulate capital."

This, he said, is the key role of money in a capitalist society.

"That is what makes the economy tick. All the key decisions are taken on the basis of the profit motive. . . . That's what makes the capitalists tick. . . ."

"That's the way the system has worked for 150 years," he emphasized, "and I challenge anyone to show that it works differently today."

Marx's predictions

Turning to Marx's supposed failure to predict accurately, Mandel discussed some of his principal predictions.

First, he said, it was a paradox that Marx, an implacable opponent of capitalism, was the only economist of his time to predict that the drive for the accumulation of capital in an industrial society would liberate a tremendous potential for technical progress.

Marx, he said, predicted that this system would produce more and more machines, and more and more modern ones, until it reached the point where "the whole mechanism of technology

and machinery would threaten the whole destiny of mankind."

"Hasn't this prediction been born out?" Mandel asked.

Further, he said, Marx predicted that when you have this kind of growth of mechanization under capitalism, "you will unavoidably create a process of social polarization."

"The number of people who will be able to buy this more and more complex machinery to start a business will become a smaller and smaller part of society," Mandel explained.

"When you can start a business with \$500, many people can do so. But when you need a \$5 million machine or a \$50 million machine, then it becomes very difficult for the ordinary person to survive as an independent businessperson."

As a result, the number of wage earners has increased vastly. Mandel noted that in the major capitalist countries today, more than 85 percent of the population are wage earners. In Marx's time, he said it was 50 or 60 percent.

Growth of monopolies

Another of Marx's central predictions, Mandel continued, was that competition would lead to monopoly—to the reduction of competition.

The growing concentration of capital, he said, has meant that some 700 or 800 transnational corporations pretty much dominate the capitalist world.

This concentration of economic power, he continued, means that the process of political democracy is necessarily subverted.

"Everyone is free to run for president of the United States," he observed. "The only prerequisite for an effective campaign is to have access to \$10 million or \$20 million."

Another prediction of Marx's, he said, was that where capitalist industry developed, sooner or later a powerful organized labor movement would develop in response, and there would be a worldwide spread of unions and the development of big socialist parties.

This was a daring prediction, Mandel said, because there were no trade unions of any substance at the time outside of England, and no significant socialist parties outside England and France.

Finally, he said, Marx also predicted

that as a result of the way the profit motive operates, there could be no smooth economic development under capitalism, with regular annual increases in the gross national product.

Instead, Marx forecast the development would be uneven and disharmonious. There would be sharp ups and downs, or what is now called "the business cycle."

"The business cycle has been declared dead many times," Mandel commented, "but there have been twenty such cyclical downturns since 1823" and "you will continue to have periodic crises of overproduction."

U.S. no exception

Mandel explained that the United States today is no exception to the laws of capitalist development.

Discussing the early development of U.S. capitalism, he explained that it alone did not have to overcome the obstacle of a feudal or semifeudal economy in order to develop as a capitalist nation. In addition, it was the richest of all the capitalist states in natural resources.

But the United States did not develop as a world capitalist power until its frontiers vanished and the mass of the people were forced to become wage earners.

Once that occurred, Mandel continued, it only took a few decades for the United States to become the world's leading capitalist power. This superiority was made decisive by the first and second world wars.

This world hegemony was supposed to usher in an "American Century," Mandel pointed out, which, however, only lasted ten or fifteen years.

American capitalists today, he said, "have to depress wages and social benefits in the United States in order to compete internationally. This will have many consequences, including its impact on the internal political system in the United States."

Vividly describing the mass anticapitalist sentiment of European workers today, Mandel assured his audience that U.S. workers would not be immune to this process.

Problem not 'human nature'

Addressing himself to the argument that the problem is human nature and not the social system, Mandel declared that any system that centers on the accumulation of wealth must unleash powerful destructive forces.

"There cannot be the slightest

doubt," he declared, "that a system based on private property, money acquisition, and competition will not favor cooperation, solidarity, fraternity, and peace, but will favor the opposite . . . increased violence, increased wars, and increased destructiveness in human behavior."

Looking at the future of capitalism, Mandel said that while it had endured longer than many had anticipated, today "the limits of adaptability of the system have become narrower and narrower."

He explained that after the depression of the 1930s a series of techniques—all inflationary in their consequences—were developed to avoid new downturns.

Today, he said, the efficacy of these methods is coming to an end. The point has been reached where inflationary measures do not stimulate economic growth but become a brake on it.

"The dilemma—either massive inflation or massive unemployment—leads to a combination of both," he said.

Because capitalism is in a blind alley, he declared, the future is with socialism.

"I do not believe you have socialism today in a single country in the world," Mandel said. Those countries that call themselves socialist—such as the Soviet Union and other workers states "have abolished capitalism but they have not reached socialism. They are between the two and frozen down by the rule of a privileged bureaucratic layer. . . .

"What socialism is all about," he continued, "is self-government by the masses of the producers. No market, no corporation, no government telling the people what they should produce, how they should produce it."

"They will make these decisions freely themselves. . . . Some of these decisions at the factory level, some at the local level, some in delegated congresses. . . . But each time through the democratic process. . . .

"Is this difficult? Yes. Will it lead to mistakes? Yes. But let's look at the present masters of the world. Haven't they made mistakes? Look at the state of affairs they have led us to."

"I believe . . . in the capacity of humanity not to make too many mistakes for which we have to pay too heavy a price. We will correct them, after two times, after three times. . . . And the outcome will be better than what we have today."



Julius and Ethel Rosenberg after their conviction in 1951

...Rosenbergs

Continued from back page

arrested, the files admit they have very little on my mother but that it's important to use her as a lever against my father."

Meeropol said they now have files describing a meeting between members of the Atomic Energy Commission, a joint congressional committee on atomic energy, and the prosecutors held in January 1951.

At that meeting, Meeropol explained, "they finally get down to say, 'Look, we've got to make sure this evidence is strong so that Rosenberg gets the death sentence. That's the only way to get him to talk. We don't have very much on his wife—that's almost a direct quote—'We don't have very much on his wife, but it's very important to convict her and give her a good stiff prison sentence so that we can unloosen her husband's tongue.'"

Ethel Rosenberg was a hostage. For that purpose she was torn from her children. She was rejected by her mother and family. She was imprisoned for three years, much of the time in solitary confinement, and finally killed. She was the first woman executed by the U.S. government since 1865.

"They expect me to break under the strain because I am a woman," Ethel Rosenberg told her lawyer. "They think that in the Death House I will be haunted by images, alone and without Julie I'll collapse. But I won't."

She didn't. Offered their lives in exchange for making false confessions implicating others, the Rosenbergs chose the electric chair. The open line from the death chamber to the Justice Department went unused. The government's plan to cast the net of accusation and terror even wider failed.

As W.E.B. DuBois declared at the Rosenbergs' graveside, "These people were killed because they would not lie."

Other details about the frame-up are finally coming to light through the Meeropols' lawsuit. The FBI, CIA, Atomic Energy Commission, White House, Department of Defense, Department of State, and Department of Justice are still withholding evidence. They are even trying to claim that disclosure would threaten "national

security"—twenty-five years after the event.

Despite government resistance, however, much has been proved. Bonnie Brower, one of the Meeropols' attorneys, told the *Militant* that the files released to date demonstrate without question that:

- The FBI and prosecution manufactured trial testimony, contrived evidence, and held meetings with key witnesses to drill, coach, and coerce them.

- The government used massive illegal electronic and physical surveillance, mail covers and openings, manipulation of the press, and suppression of critical publicity.

- Judge Irving Kaufman violated the U.S. Criminal Code and Code of Judicial Conduct, not to mention the U.S. Constitution. He held secret meetings with the prosecution before and during the trial, decided on the sentence before the jury reached a verdict, decided to deny postconviction motions before reading or hearing defense arguments, and attempted to influence higher courts reviewing the case.

Harvard Law Prof. Vern Countryman and more than 100 other law professors asked the House and Senate Judiciary Committees to investigate the issues raised by Kaufman's record. They have never even received an answer.

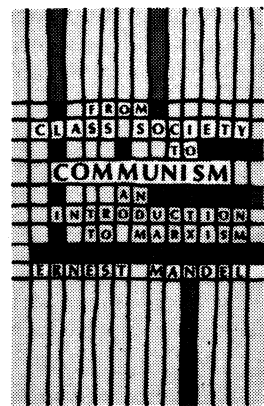
Just before their death the Rosenbergs wrote a final letter to their sons, asking, "Always remember that we were innocent and could not wrong our conscience."

On June 19 this year thousands of people will again tell the government: We are all the Rosenbergs' sons and daughters. And we will never forget.

In their last letter the Rosenbergs wrote:

"Your lives must teach you too, that good cannot really flourish in the midst of evil; that freedom and all the things that go to make up a truly satisfying and worthwhile life must sometimes be purchased very dearly. Be comforted, then, that we were serene and understood with the deepest kind of understanding, that civilization has not as yet progressed to the point where life did not have to be lost for the sake of life; and that we were comforted in the sure knowledge that others would carry on after us."

FOR FURTHER READING



From Class Society to Communism

An Introduction to Marxism

By Ernest Mandel

What are the economic roots of social inequality? Where do profits come from? How did the modern labor movement develop? Why is a socialist revolution necessary to liberate the working class? How does bureaucracy develop in the labor movement? What is the nature of states such as the USSR, China, and those in Eastern Europe? How would a society managed by the workers run itself? What is the role of the revolutionary party? What are the scientific methods of Marxism—dialectical and historical materialism?

From Class Society to Communism is a comprehensive yet simply written book that gives clear answers to these questions.

190 pages, cloth \$14.00, paper \$3.95. Available from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Enclose 50 cents with payment for postage and handling.

Quote unquote

"The representatives of the ninety-six states who have spoken before me have been unanimous in condemning the arms race. If all of us are against the arms race, then the question is, who are responsible for the arms race?"

—T.T.B. Koh, head of the Singapore delegation to the United Nations, at the Special General Assembly Session on Disarmament.

RIGHT-WING MEASURES FAIL TO GET ON BALLOT

Five reactionary proposals failed to gather enough public support to qualify for the California ballot by June 6. These included measures calling for a stringent death penalty, opposing school busing for desegregation, curbing the use of public funds for abortion, and a ban on affirmative action in hiring and school admissions.

A fifth measure was aimed at restricting the ability of the United Farm Workers union to organize.

A measure ending the requirement that Los Angeles County workers get the same pay for similar work performed in private industry passed by a nearly two-to-one margin. This was a defeat for public employees and organized labor.

SEEING THE LIGHT

Because of a "divine revelation," the Mormon church announced June 9 that it would end its 148-year-old ban on Blacks in the priesthood. Two days later, the first Black was ordained.

Spencer Kimball, church president, revealed the new policy in a letter to members.

God "has heard our prayers," Kimball wrote, "and by revelation has confirmed that the long promised day has come when every faithful, worthy

man in the church may receive the holy priesthood. . . ."

Kimball didn't explain why God and OK'd Blacks but continued to exclude women.

PROTEST EXPULSION OF GAY SEMINARIANS

On May 15 the faculty at Garrett Evangelical Theological Seminary in Evanston, Illinois, voted fifteen to ten to expel James Mason and Terry Colbert after the two said they were homosexuals.

In protest, about 40 of the 325 students at the United Methodist seminary held a peaceful demonstration on June 2. And forty-eight Northwestern University professors withdrew from a joint doctoral program with the seminary.

The Associated Student Government at Northwestern University protested, and fifty-three faculty members at nearby Mundelein College, a Catholic school, issued a statement on behalf of the two gay students.

YOUTH JOBS MARCH

About 150 young people marched around New York's city hall June 9 demanding 200,000 summer jobs for youth at prevailing union wages. Most of the participants were Black or Hispanic. The march was sponsored by the Youth March for Jobs Committee and endorsed by several union officials and civil rights activists.

WELFARE UNDER ATTACK

Officials in Jersey City, New Jersey, have proudly announced that they have pushed 1,000 people off the welfare rolls in the past two months.

"If you need welfare, we're willing to help you, but, if you're cheating, you're going to go to jail," declared Mayor Thomas F.X. Smith.

However, the city claims to have found only 21 cases of fraud. Reasons for cutting off welfare to the other 980 recipients were not revealed.

The city also plans to force welfare recipients to work off

their allotments. They will be put into such jobs as cleaning streets and vacant lots.

PRISONERS ASK FOR ASYLUM IN CUBA

Five political prisoners from the U.S.-controlled Virgin Islands—serving long terms in U.S. federal prisons on frame-up charges of killing eight tourists—have applied to the Cuban government for political asylum.

The five were charged after the FBI and U.S. Army troops conducted a reign of terror in their search for scapegoats following the 1972 killings.

After the trial, four jurors admitted they had been pressured into a guilty verdict by the cops.

'WOMEN OF COLOR UNITE'

More than 200 Black, Asian, Pacific Islander, Latino, and Native American women took part in a "Women of Color Unite" Conference at The Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington, May 19-20. The theme of the conference was the need for women of color to unite and share ideas, experiences, and mutual needs.

Resolutions were passed supporting full amnesty for undocumented workers, enforcement of all Indian treaty rights, and opposing an antigay ballot

measure coming up for a vote in Seattle.

HOW ABOUT THE DEAD, TOO?

A Catholic eighth-grader has come up with an anti-abortion "improvement" to the Pledge of Allegiance (which, readers will recall, promises "liberty and justice for all"). Jo Ellen Moczek has suggested adding the words "born and unborn" after the above-quoted phrase.

Cardinal Newman High School in West Palm Beach, Florida, has adopted the new pledge.

SCHOOL BUSING ORDER IN INDIANAPOLIS

A federal judge has again ordered the Indianapolis public schools to begin busing Black students to suburban school districts in order to end segregation. Judge S. Hugh Dillin's order calls for busing some 6,500 Black students next fall. Dillin issued a similar order three years ago.

Attorneys for the school system said they would appeal the order. The case has already been in court ten years.

INDIANS BLOCK POWER PLANTS

The Northern Cheyenne Indians have succeeded in blocking, at least temporarily, the

construction of two huge coal-fired power plants on land fifteen miles from their Montana reservation.

The tribe had argued that the plants would seriously worsen air quality. A court battle is expected.

PUERTO RICAN DAY PARADE

Half a million people marched in or watched New York City's Puerto Rican Day Parade June 4. "This is a day of festivity for Puerto Ricans in New York," noted a statement distributed by the Socialist Workers campaign. "But the real day-by-day picture of Puerto Ricans and other Spanish-speaking people continues to get bleaker."

Three thousand copies of the statement were distributed. It described the racist treatment of Latinos and called for political action independent of the Democratic and Republican parties to fight back.

Socialist campaign supporters also sold sixty copies of the Spanish-language biweekly *Perspectiva Mundial* and \$265 worth of books and pamphlets.

GAY ACTIVIST SUES FBI AND CIA

Gay activist David Thorstad has filed suit against the FBI and CIA under the Freedom of Information Act. Thorstad has been seeking the spy agencies' files on him since 1975.

Thorstad is a leader of the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights in New York City and is the author of *The Early Homosexual Rights Movement (1864-1935)*. He was an activist in the antiwar and socialist movements.

"The issue with this suit is very simple," Thorstad said. "Evidence uncovered over the past few years shows that the real criminals in American society have been the secret police agencies of the government itself. Those of us who have been victimized by its actions must, at a minimum, be granted access to its files on us so we can learn the true extent of its violations of our rights."

Parole for one of Wilmington 10

Joe Wright, one of the Wilmington Ten, was paroled June 1. He is the second of the civil rights activists to be freed from North Carolina's prisons after conviction of fire bombing a grocery store in 1972.

All the ten received long prison terms, totaling nearly 300 years. North Carolina Gov. James Hunt has refused to pardon them, despite the fact that three key prosecution witnesses have admitted they lied under pressure from police.



What's Going On

CALIFORNIA

LOS ANGELES: SOUTHEAST WHICH WAY FOR WORKERS IN THE WAKE OF PROPOSITION 13 CUT-BACKS. Speaker: Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor. Fri., June 23, 8 p.m. 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Pk. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 582-1975.

INDIANA

INDIANAPOLIS

ABORTION RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK. Speaker: Pippa Holroyde, member of Socialist Workers Party and National Organization for Women; others. Sat., June 24, 3 p.m. 4163 N. College. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (317) 925-2616.

MARYLAND

BALTIMORE

TWO CLASSES ON SOCIALIST STRATEGY IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT. Speaker: Joel Britton, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., June 24, 11 a.m. & 2 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY.

Speakers: Salm Kolis, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Maryland; Ollie Bivins, SWP candidate for lieutenant-governor. Sat., June 24, 7:30 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Ausp: Maryland Socialist Workers '78 Campaign. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

MASSACHUSETTS

BOSTON

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF POLITICAL FRAME-UPS: THE ROSENBERG AND TRUONG CASES. Fri., June 23, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. 4th fl. Kenmore Square. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

MINNESOTA

ST. PAUL

THE CURRENT SITUATION IN AFRICA. Speakers: Lansine Kaba, department of history, University of Minn.; Mahmoud El-Kati, Macalester College; August Nimtz, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 23, 8 p.m. 373 University Ave. Donation: \$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

NEW YORK

NYC: CHELSEA

A SOCIALIST STRATEGY FOR WINNING LESBIAN AND GAY RIGHTS. Speakers: David Thorstad, Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights; Diane Wang, staff writer for the 'Militant.' Fri., June 23, 7 p.m. McBurney YMCA, 315 W. 23rd St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 989-2731.

NYC: LOWER EAST SIDE

DEMOCRACY IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC? ¿DEMOCRACIA EN LA REPUBLICA DOMINICANA? Speakers to be announced. Fri., June 23, 8 p.m. 7 Clinton St. (near Houston). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum/Foro Militante. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

NYC: UPPER WEST SIDE

MARCHING FOR THE ERA: A SPEAK-OUT IN SUPPORT OF THE JULY 9 MARCH ON WASHINGTON. Speakers, refreshments, literature, travel information. Fri., June 23, 8 p.m. 786 Amsterdam Ave. (99th St.) Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000 or 866-9443.

OHIO

TOLEDO

RATIFY THE ERA! A panel discus-

sion. Sun., June 18, 7 p.m. 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (419) 242-9743.

UTAH

SALT LAKE CITY

WHICH WAY FORWARD FOR LABOR. Three classes by Nat Weinstein, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Fri., June 23, 7:30 p.m.: After the coal strike; Sat., June 24, 11 a.m. & 2 p.m.: Strategy for the labor movement. 677 7th St. East. Donation \$.50 per session, \$1 entire weekend. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party & Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Six classes on 'Labor's Giant Step.' June 28, July 5, 12, 19, 26, 29. 7:30 p.m. except for July 29 when 2 p.m. 677 S. 7th East. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

HOW TO WIN THE ERA: A SPEAK-OUT AND PANEL DISCUSSION IN SUPPORT OF THE JULY 9 DEMONSTRATION. Speakers: representatives of National Organization for Women, Communication Workers of America, Brotherhood of Railroad and Airline

Clerks, others. Fri., June 23, 8 p.m. All Soul's Church, 16th & Harvard NW. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON

TACOMA

FILM: THE BATTLESHIP POTEMKIN. Fri., June 23, 8 p.m. 1022 S. J St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

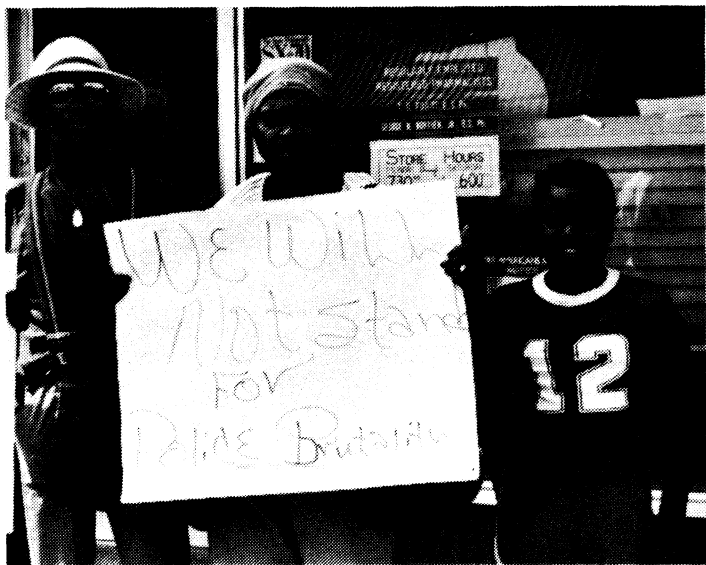
DETROIT

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY

Speakers: SWP candidates Robin Mace for governor and Florence Robinson for U.S. Senate; Andrew Pulley, 1972 SWP vice-presidential candidate; others. Sun., June 25, Highland Park YWCA, Room 208, 13130 Woodward. Cocktails: 5:30 p.m.; Dinner: 6:30 p.m.; Rally: 8 p.m. Donation: \$3.50 for the evening, or \$1 for rally only. Sponsored by Michigan Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (313) 961-5673.



Miss. Blacks challenge KKK



Blacks picketing store in downtown Tupelo

Militant/John Hawkins

Hundreds of Black demonstrators marched from a church in the Black community to the county court house in Tupelo, Mississippi, June 10 demanding jobs and an end to police brutality.

The march, organized by the United League of Northern Mississippi, came as Blacks in the city of 25,000 began their twelfth week of an economic boycott of downtown businesses.

The silent march far outnumbered an anti-Black demonstration organized by the Ku Klux Klan later that day.

"We are proving to the Klan that they can no longer intimidate Black people," said Alfred "Skip" Robinson, a United League leader, in a telephone interview with the *Militant*. "The mayor and chief of police have been working hand-in-glove with the Klan and hoped they could provoke us into violence. The fact that they didn't succeed was a big defeat for them and the Klan."

In an attempt to break the Black boycott, Tupelo city officials have passed ordinances banning both picketing at downtown stores and United League demonstrations.

Lawyers for the group challenged the ordinances in court, however, and won an injunction against them May 23.

A white supporter of the United League was attacked by Klan strong-arm men during the racist rally. After the Klansmen had beaten him to the ground, Tupelo cops arrested him, Robinson said, and continued the assault.

According to a *New York Times* report, police also arrested a Memphis newspaper reporter who attempted to photograph the arrest. In addition, a Black Justice Department official was arrested, along with a white who attacked him, when he went to police headquarters to inquire about the first two arrests.

BUT IT'S JUST A SMALL LEAK

The army has discovered that three nerve gas bombs stored in Colorado are leaking. Consequently, 900 of the bombs won't be shipped to

Utah until the army figures out what's wrong.

Although the deadly weapons were once scheduled for destruction, Defense Secretary Harold Brown ordered them maintained at the Tooele Army Depot in Utah.

Sounds logical—"California cattlemen and meat packers are expressing surprise at the weak consumer resistance to dramatically higher beef prices, a development which could bring on even higher prices by fall."—*Los Angeles Times*.

Waste not, want not—Extensive construction is now under way at Lake Placid, in remote upstate New York, for the two-week Winter Olympics in 1980. To provide housing for the 1,800 participating athletes, federal authorities plan to build a youth prison, with the athletes as the initial tenants. Such a slammer, they say, will meet the security requirements recommended by the International Olympics Committee.

New master race?—Memphis reports an infestation of a new breed of super-mice, apparently grown impervious to the poisons routinely used by exterminators.

Wrong number—The problem with the polygraph "is that first of all the subject must consent to being strapped down and wired to the machine," says an ad for the HAGOTH, a gadget that allegedly analyzes voice stress. With this little item, businessmen are advised, "the subject need not even be aware he's being tested. In fact, one of the best uses of the HAGOTH is over the telephone."

Presidential perks—We don't know if Jimmy has three tax-deductible martinis for lunch. But as cooccupant of the White House, he does enjoy a rent-free thirty-two-room mansion, which is cleaned by the National Park Service and staffed by eighty-six people, including seven maids, six butlers, and nine cooks and helpers. And, for a weekend getaway, there's the Camp David retreat, which costs 1 million tax dollars a year to maintain.

Union Talk

Featherbedding?

This week's column is by a member of the United Transportation Union who works on the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad.

Railroad industry employers are pressing hard in this year's negotiations with the United Transportation Union (UTU). And the demand they're pressing for the hardest is a reduction in crew size.

Traditionally a train crew was made up of an engineer, a fireman, and three brakemen. By the early 1960s, with the broad-scale introduction of the diesel locomotive, the rail carriers had managed to eliminate the fireman.

Now they're demanding that one brakeman follow the same path to unemployment.

This could mean the loss of about 45,000 jobs in the rail industry, where the work force has been halved from close to 1 million in the late 1940s to less than 500,000 today. For this reason alone, the carriers' scheme to throw people out of work should be fought.

But a reduction in crew size would also have a major impact on working conditions and on the strength of the UTU itself.

Company spokespersons have been quick to bring up the issue of "featherbedding." Their contention—that one of the three brakemen on a train is unnecessary—is gospel to management.

Unfortunately, top UTU officials have gone along with this notion. Instead of standing firm for no reduction in crew size, they have proposed that crews be reduced through attrition. While this would avoid firings of brakemen already employed, it would mean that no new workers would be hired to take the places of those who quit or retire.

Whether this will be settled as a local (company by company) or national issue has not been decided.

But one thing is for sure—losing one-third of the crew will have a big effect on job safety for railroad workers.

As an employee on a railroad where two-person crews have existed for nearly five years, I've seen some of the dangers this could cause.

Maybe the most frightening is the situation that arises when a crew of only two brakemen has to "protect" a train. One brakeman is on the engine, and only one is in the caboose on the hind end. When trouble arises, one end of the train is left without anyone to stop an approaching train.

Reliance on automatic block signals alone leaves open the chance of mechanical failure or the possibility that a train on the next track could unknowingly be running toward derailed cars blocking its track. Such a collision—even at the relatively slow speed of twenty miles per hour—can be disastrous.

A second problem arises from the need to communicate over spread-out distances. That is part of railroading. Radios are commonly used to eliminate the need to physically relay hand signals. This works fine unless—as often happens—the radio malfunctions, is overridden by another radio, or is too weak to be heard over longer distances.

If the engine is out of sight of the person with the radio when any of these things happen, the absence of the third brakeman can be fatal.

A third problem comes up when a crew is switching boxcars in a rail yard. A reduced crew makes communication with the ground crew difficult. In addition, the engineer can only see on one side of the engine. And without the missing fireman or third brakeman to compensate for this, accidents are sure to increase.

Most importantly, reducing crew size will result in speedup. That will mean greater fatigue from trying to do the same amount of work with one-third fewer people.

Mistakes caused by slowed physical or mental reactions can result in any number of serious accidents—from falling off a boxcar to being unable to get out from between two boxcars if they move suddenly. Accidents like these can easily result in loss of limb or death.

Of course, the carriers don't want to allow such safety considerations to interfere with what's really important to them—making more money. In fact they have a long history of resisting safety measures.

Take the development of a safe coupling device, for example. The old lock-and-pin device cost thousands of rail workers fingers or parts of their hands. Yet when a safer device was invented, the carriers stalled for years before they began introducing it, let alone installing it on all boxcars.

If the carriers force through their plan to reduce crew size, workers in the rail industry will pay for the increased profits of the capitalists with their health and lives.



Special Offer

TO CELEBRATE THE COMPLETION OF THE 12-VOLUME SET OF WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY

- 20% off for three or more volumes (regular price, \$5.45 per volume).
- 25% reduction for entire twelve-volume set of *Writings of Leon Trotsky* (1929-40).

For all twelve volumes, send \$49 plus \$1 for postage and handling to Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. For other orders, please include \$.50 for postage and handling.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Celebrating 50 years of the Militant, 1928-1978

Voting: a woman's 'crime'

Little more than 100 years ago, on June 17, 1873, Susan B. Anthony, a leader of the women's suffrage movement, was put on trial and convicted. Her crime? Voting in the presidential election.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association, an organization founded by Anthony, pointed to the Fourteenth Amendment, which declared "all persons born or naturalized in the United States . . . are citizens of the United States," and the Fifteenth Amendment, guaranteeing the right of all citizens to vote "regardless of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." These amendments, the women contended, should also guarantee women the right to vote, along with men.

Susan B. Anthony set out to test this in the presidential election of 1872.

Leading sixteen women, she walked into the polling place and cast her vote. She was then arrested. Insisting she had the law on her side, Anthony said, "I stand here under indictment for having exercised my right as a citizen to vote at the last election, and by a fiction of the law I am now in custody and not a free person."

Anthony did not see her arrest as a defeat. Rather, she seized it as an opportunity to expose government opposition to women's right to vote. She went on a tour of Monroe County in New York speaking on the topic, "Is It a Crime for a United States Citizen to Vote?"

The prosecuting attorney got worried when he saw the support she gained against her unjust arrest. He quickly moved the trial to a remote village in Ontario County.

Undaunted, Anthony quickly organized a second tour, speaking in twenty-one districts of Ontario County before her trial.

On June 23, 1873, the courtroom was packed. This was not simply a trial of Susan B. Anthony—the entire suffrage movement was on trial.

After hearing testimony on the case, Judge Ward Hunt pulled out a prepared statement ordering the jury to find Anthony guilty. When her lawyer protested, calling for a poll of the jury, the judge dismissed the jury. The judge's well-thought-out attack then backfired. He asked the defendant whether she had anything to say.

She did.

Over his repeated attempts to silence her, Anthony gave Justice Hunt and the entire court a blistering denunciation not only of the trial itself, but of the whole issue of women's disfranchisement:

"Yes, your honor, I have many things to say; for in your ordered verdict of guilty, you have trampled under foot every vital principle of our government. My natural rights, my civil rights, my political rights, my judicial rights, are all alike ignored.



SUSAN B. ANTHONY

"Robbed of the fundamental privilege of citizenship, I am degraded from the status of a citizen to that of a subject; and not only myself individually, but all my sex are, by your honor's verdict, doomed to political subjection under this so-called republican form of government. . . .

"Your denial of my citizen's right to vote is the denial of my right of consent as one of the governed, the denial of my right of representation as one taxed, the denial of my right to a trial by jury of my peers."

The judge ordered her silenced. Anthony went on:

"But, your honor will not deny me this one and only poor, privilege of protest against this high-handed outrage upon my citizen's rights. May it please the court to remember that since the day of my arrest last November this is the first time that either myself or any person of my disfranchised class has been allowed a word of defense before judge or jury."

But, the judge said, "the prisoner has been tried according to the established form of law."

"Yes," Anthony shot back, "but by forms of law, all made by men, interpreted by men, administered by men, in favor of men, and against women; and hence your honor's ordered verdict of guilty against a United States citizen for the exercise of the 'citizen's right to vote,' simply because that citizen was a woman and not a man. . . .

"The slaves who got their freedom had to take it over or under or through the unjust forms of the law, precisely so now must women take it to get their right to a voice in this government; and I have taken mine, and mean to take it at every opportunity."

It took more than a century for women's suffrage to be won. For more than fifty years we have waged another battle—for the Equal Rights Amendment. Matching the determination of the suffragists, we'll win this one too. —Priscilla Schenk

Letters

Veteran reader

Thank you for putting out the best paper on the left. I've been reading it since I was thirteen (eight years ago now). It just gets better and more professional.

Keep your spirits high, and keep up the good work.

Eric Huffman

Seattle, Washington

suggestions about the 'Militant.'

Below are some of the responses we received.

Tell it like it is.

I receive the *Militant* every week. If the prison officials here held up my paper, I would give them hell in court, so there is no trouble about my getting the paper.

The *Militant* is a very good paper, and you tell it like it is. I wish there was more coverage on prisons and what is hidden in them, good and bad. But I think you do a good job on the news.

I'm very thankful to receive the *Militant*, so please keep it coming to me.

A prisoner
Missouri

'Mandatory reading'

I have been reading and enjoying your paper since 1973. It has definitely become part of my mandatory reading. The things I've learned from the *Militant* have encouraged me to do much outside reading that furthermore enriches as well as educates me. Therefore, I heartily renew my subscription. Please keep up the good work.

Cheryl Fischer
Columbus, Ohio

Air prison abuses

I do want to continue receiving the *Militant*. There has been a little difficulty in receiving it here. The paper was not delivered to me while I was imprisoned at the federal penitentiary.

Your paper gets read here by about ten inmates.

I would suggest a series of articles on the United States Parole Commission's procedures and on the Bureau of Prison practices. Such a series would generate much interest from federal prisoners,

No nukes!

A rally in support of the Seabrook, New Hampshire, occupation will be held June 24 at 11:30 a.m. on the New Haven Green, New Haven, Connecticut. The intent of the rally is a show of solidarity and also to point out that the New Haven electric utility has major investments in the Seabrook facility and the



'Will that be cash or charge?'

planned rate hike because of them.

At 12 noon, representatives from The Village Square, P.E.S.T. (People's Energy Shutoff Taskforce) and the Connecticut Office of Consumer Counsel will speak.

Thank you, and "No Nukes!"

Peter Krala

New Haven, Connecticut

who are without a forum to air the abuses of these two agencies.

A prisoner
Texas

'Appreciates' free sub

I have been receiving a free subscription to your very informative newspaper. The *Militant* is a great alternative to the traditional newspapers that I have read in the prison library.

I think that the *Militant* gives a bold inside view to what is really going on in the world. I truly enjoy your newspaper and appreciate your

Our party is your party

THE MILITANT is the voice of the Socialist Workers Party.

IF YOU AGREE with what you've read, you should join us in fighting for a world without war, racism, or exploitation—a socialist world.

JOIN THE SWP. Fill out this coupon and mail it today.

- ☐ I want to join the SWP.
☐ Send me _____ copies of *Prospects for Socialism in America* at \$2.95 each. Enclosed \$_____
☐ Please send me more information.
- Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Telephone _____

SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

JOIN THE SWP

Learning About Socialism

The ACLU and the Nazis

In a letter printed in the June 16 issue of the *Militant*, Joel Hollis raises some interesting questions about the role of the American Civil Liberties Union in the controversy over the Nazi march in Skokie.

Hollis agrees with the Socialist Workers Party that it is necessary to “unite in massive demonstrations against the Nazis instead of relying on governmental bodies to stop the stormtroopers.”

However, Hollis questions the criticism leveled by the SWP against the ACLU’s decision to provide legal defense to the Nazis. As he sees it, “If the Skokie government were allowed to ban the Nazi demonstration, the result would be that a governmental body would have determined which ideas are presented to the people instead of allowing the people themselves to decide what ideas they want to embrace. . . .

“As [*Militant* writer Steve] Clark points out [See “How to defeat Nazi threat in Skokie” in the May 26 *Militant*], the law in question effectively bans all types of demonstrations, including anti-Nazi demonstrations. . . .

“Considering the federal government’s history of harassment of the SWP, I would think the party would support the ACLU’s actions on the principle of free speech and, in a more practical vein, as a means of protecting itself from legalized government suppression.”

First of all, the SWP opposes *any* law, including the one in Skokie, that limits the right of free speech and assembly. We think it is good that the Skokie law was struck down. But it does not follow that opposition to such laws warrants support to what the ACLU has done in defending the Nazis.

Hollis looks at the ACLU’s role from a purely legal point of view.

While socialists are not at all indifferent to the battle in the courts against restrictions on democratic rights, *such legal battles must be conducted in the context of an overall policy aimed at mobilizing the masses against the government—and in this case against the Nazis too.*

The ACLU’s position cuts across this goal, instead of helping it. This is not surprising. The ACLU’s basic strategy is to rely on the capitalist government, instead of seeing it as the main enemy of democratic rights. The ACLU raises the purely legal courtroom contest above the need to mobilize the masses. It acts as if the fight for democratic rights will be settled in the courts, instead of in the battle between the working class and its allies against the capitalist class.

In the case of the Skokie events, the ACLU’s legal aid to the Nazis was an obstacle to clarifying what was really at issue for millions of working people. First of all, the ACLU totally ignored the threat to democratic rights posed by the Nazi provocation in Skokie. The ACLU has not said one word in support of those organizing a counterdemonstration against the Nazi hatemongers and their anti-Semitic march through that heavily Jewish town.

Moreover, by focusing on the Nazis’ case, the ACLU blurs the important point that repressive laws such as those passed in Skokie pose the greatest threat to the working class, even if Nazi activities are the original pretext. Such laws are aimed at the rights of trade unionists, Black liberation fighters, the women’s movement, and socialists.

It would have been easy enough for the ACLU to challenge the Skokie law through a test case based on an anti-Nazi protest. Such a course could have made the real issue clear. In the real world, the enemies of democratic rights are both the Nazis and the capitalist government. Any strategy that confuses the masses about this, that blurs the line of battle, is an obstacle in the fight for democratic rights.

As Clark noted in his article, David Hamlin, executive director of the Illinois ACLU, even gave grudging praise to Nazi leader Frank Collin as one who “has a good sense of the First Amendment” and “has secured a ringing victory for democracy.”

By helping the Nazis with free legal aid and testimonials about their “ringing victory for democracy,” the ACLU creates confusion about what forces threaten democratic rights and how that threat must be fought.

If we were confronting a mass fascist movement, rather than a tiny fringe group, such confusion could prove fatal.

Of course, one can say that the ACLU is merely a liberal organization, that it does not pretend to hold a class analysis of society, and therefore cannot be expected to take stands that flow from such an analysis. But the point is that it is impossible to consistently and effectively defend democratic rights in our times without a working-class strategy, without a revolutionary perspective. That is the lesson of the ACLU’s role in Skokie. —David Frankel

For further reading . . .

Countermobilization: A Strategy to Fight Racist and Fascist Attacks by Farrell Dobbs. 24 pages, 75 cents.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

free subscription to prisoners.
A prisoner
New York

Popular paper

I am receiving the *Militant*, and it is so popular that most of the time I don’t even get a chance to read it first. The one I received last is on the other side of the prison and has been read by four people.

The *Militant* obtains news that people in jail don’t hear about anywhere else. It also updates these events. I try to pass the paper to as many people as possible. The paper is beautiful.

A prisoner
New York

Prison conditions

I think the *Militant* is a wonderful paper, and I’m sincerely grateful to each and every contributor who makes it possible for me to receive it. I am at present, and have been since 1973, in the maximum-security prison. I sincerely wish the cruel conditions that exist here could be exposed to the public concerning the dehumanizing 1930s type of racists that rule here with their own law.

A prisoner
New York

Keeping informed

I received your letter concerning my free subscription to the *Militant*. I appreciate your generosity in sending it to me. It’s about the only way I have of being able to keep informed on all socialist and working-class activities. Thanks very much.
A prisoner

The ‘*Militant*’ special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can’t pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: **Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.**

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 314 E. Taylor. Zip: 85004. Tel: (602) 255-0450. Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965. Zip: 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, 3264 Adeline St. Zip: 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156. East Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd. Zip: 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347. Los Angeles, Crenshaw District: SWP, YSA, 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Zip: 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196. Los Angeles: City-wide SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404, Zip: 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820. Los Angeles, Southeast: SWP, YSA, 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park, 90255. Tel: (213) 582-1975. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco, Mission District: SWP, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Francisco, Western Addition: SWP, 973 Page St. Zip: 94117. Tel: (415) 626-6814. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 942 E. Santa Clara St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 295-8342. COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 916 Broadway. Zip: 80203. Tel: (303) 837-1018.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 7623 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358. Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Linda Thalman, 1303 Ocala Rd. #140. Zip: 32304. Tel: (904) 576-5737.

GEORGIA: East Atlanta: SWP, 471A Flat Shoals Ave. SE, P.O. Box 17821. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 688-6739. West Atlanta: SWP, 137 Ashby, P.O. Box 92040. Zip: 30314. Tel: (404) 755-2940.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 407 S. Dearborn #1145. Zip: 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280. Chicago, North Side: SWP, 1870 N. Halsted. Zip: 60614. Tel: (312) 642-4811. Chicago, South Side: SWP, 2251 E. 71st St. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 643-5520. Chicago, West Side: SWP, 10 N. Cicero. Zip: 60644. Tel: (312) 261-8370.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University. Zip: 47401. Indianapolis: SWP, 4163 College Ave. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 925-2616.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station. Zip: 40506. Tel: (606) 269-6262. Louisville: SWP, 1505 W. Broadway, P.O. Box 3593. Zip: 40201. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048. MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2117 N. Charles

St. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 547-0668. College Park: YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland. Zip: 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o Rees, 4 Adams St., Easthampton 01027. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4321, Michigan Union, U of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit, East Side: SWP, 12920 Mack Ave. Zip: 48215. Tel: (313) 824-1160. Detroit, West Side: SWP, 18415 Wyoming. Zip: 48221. Tel: (313) 341-6436. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 1310 Broadway. Zip: 48226. Tel: (313) 961-5675. Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ. Zip: 48859.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, 23 E. Lake St. Zip: 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663. St. Paul: SWP, 373 University Ave. Zip: 55103. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEBRASKA: Omaha: YSA, c/o Hugh Wilcox, 521 4th St., Couchcil Bluffs, Iowa. 51501.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, 108 Morning-side Dr. NE. Zip: 87108. Tel: (505) 255-6869.

NEW YORK: Albany: SWP, YSA, 103 Central Avenue. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. Binghamton: YSA, c/o Andy Towbin, Box 7120, SUNY-Binghamton. Zip: 13901. Ithaca: YSA, Willard Straight Hall, Rm. 41A, Cornell University. Zip: 14853. New York, Bronx: SWP, 2271 Morris Ave. Zip: 10453. Tel: (212) 365-6652. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 220-222 Utica Ave. Zip: 11213. Tel: (212) 773-0250. New York, Chelsea: SWP, 200½ W. 24th St. Zip: 10011. Tel: (212) 989-2731. New York, Lower East Side: SWP, YSA, 7 Clinton St. Zip: 10002. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, Queens: SWP, YSA, 90-43 149 St. Zip: 11435. Tel: (212) 658-7718. New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, 786 Amsterdam. Zip: 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

NORTH CAROLINA: Raleigh: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 5714 State Univ. Station. Zip: 27607.

OHIO: Athens: YSA, c/o Balar Center, Ohio University. Zip: 45701. Tel: (614) 594-7497; Cincinnati:

SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 991-5030. Columbus: YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union, Rm. 308, Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St. Zip: 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985. Kent: YSA, Student Center Box 41, Kent State University. Zip: 44242. Tel: (216) 678-5974. Toledo: SWP, 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Zip: 43610. Tel: (419) 242-9743.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 3928 N. Williams. Zip: 97227. Tel: (503) 288-7860.

PENNSYLVANIA: Bethlehem: SWP, Box 1096. Zip: 18016. Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16412. Philadelphia, SWP, YSA, 218 S. 45th St., Zip: 19104. Tel: (215) 387-2451. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 5504 Penn Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 441-1419. State College: YSA, c/o Mickey van Summern, 402 S. Burrowes #1A. Zip: 16801. Tel: (814) 234-9917.

RHODE ISLAND: Kingston: YSA, P.O. Box 400. Zip: 02881. Tel: (401) 783-8864.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8344 Univ. Station. Zip: 37916. Tel: (615) 525-0820.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2215 Cedar Crest. Zip: 75203. Tel: (214) 943-6684. Houston: City-wide SWP, YSA, 6412-C N. Main St. Zip: 77009. Tel: (713) 861-9960. North Houston: SWP, 6412-C N. Main St. Zip: 77009. Tel: (713) 861-9842. Houston, South-Central: SWP, 4987 Martin Luther King Blvd. Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 643-0005. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 112 Fredericksburg Rd. Zip: 78201. Tel: (512) 735-3141.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University. Zip: 84322. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. P.O. Box 461. Zip: 84110. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 2200 E. Union. Zip: 98122. Tel: (206) 329-7404. Spokane: SWP, P.O. Box 672. Zip: 99201. Tel: (509) 326-2468. Tacoma: SWP, 1022 S. J St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, P.O. Box 1484. Zip: 26505.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

THE MILITANT

Rosenbergs Government continues 25-year-long cover-up of their murder

By Michael Smith
and Diane Wang

Just before sunset on June 19, 1953, prison officials made final preparations to kill Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

The execution had been rescheduled for before sundown so it would not violate the Jewish sabbath.

The Department of Justice kept a direct line open to the death chamber—in case the Rosenbergs decided to "talk."

President Eisenhower remained secluded in his quarters, refusing to intervene.

A little after 8 p.m. the Rosenbergs went to their deaths, as the *New York Times* noted, "with a composure that astonished the witnesses."

The huge crowd that had gathered in Union Square screamed and wept. Thousands who had assembled in Paris and London marked the hour.

Why? Why did the U.S. government kill the Rosenbergs?

Judge Irving Kaufman charged them with a "diabolical conspiracy to destroy a God-fearing nation." Supposedly they had conspired to steal the "secret" of the atom bomb and give it to the Soviet Union.

But the only "secret" of the bomb was whether it could be built. And the U.S. government had dramatically demonstrated that years before, in 1945, when it had destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Supreme Court Justice William Douglas heard arguments on a new legal issue in the case the day before the execution and granted the Rosenbergs a reprieve. But Chief Justice Fred Vinson and Attorney General Herbert Brownell had made a prior—and illegal—agreement to have the Supreme Court as a whole called back into an unprecedented session after the Court's adjournment for the summer. The Court overruled Douglas. It never did review the case.

Why was the U.S. government so eager to kill the Rosenbergs?

The United States was at war with Korea. The McCarthy "red scare" was at a fever pitch. The ruling rich were

on an all-out drive to housebreak labor, to quiet all dissent, to intimidate the American people.

By killing the Rosenbergs, the point was made: not only could people lose their jobs through the "loyalty purges" or lose their good name through red-baiting slanders; they could lose their lives.

As the *Militant* noted at the time, "death for the Rosenbergs means one of the greatest triumphs to date for the war-makers, witch hunters and enemies of labor in this country."

Michael Meeropol, one of the Rosenbergs' sons, explained it this way in an interview with the *Militant*: "The case created the equation that dissenter equals traitor equals spy, and particularly communists. Anybody who was a member of the Communist Party or who was in a socialist or communist group—all were lumped together as agents of a foreign power. And that became a way of getting average citizens to turn off their minds."

The witch-hunters also played on anti-Semitism. The Rosenberg case was portrayed as a "Jewish-Communist" conspiracy. To blunt criticism of this, the government used Jewish prosecutors. Chief prosecutor Irving Saypol, his assistants Myles Lane and Roy Cohn, and Judge Irving Kaufman were all Jewish.

Government files recently pried from the FBI through a lawsuit by Michael and Robert Meeropol prove how monstrous the frame-up was that sent the Rosenbergs to the electric chair and codefendant Morton Sobell to prison for nineteen years.

As Julius Rosenberg wrote at the time, the trial was a "political frame-up through which they paraded perjured stool pigeons and professional witnesses."

The bogus evidence consisted of:

- Two large family snapshots, which the government passed off as passport photographs.

- A table, which was not the "James Bond" device for photographing microfilm, as the prosecutors claimed it was, but a common piece of furniture



Militant/Laura Gray

'But there are tens of millions here and abroad who recognize this case for what it was—a bestial act of capitalist class terrorism intended to help intimidate into silence all who would criticize or oppose Wall Street's policies abroad or at home. These millions will yet say the last word on the Rosenbergs and the evil class system that committed their murder.'

—'The Militant,' July 6, 1953

bought at Macy's for twenty dollars.

- Forged copies of an Albuquerque hotel registry.

- A collection can Ethel Rosenberg used for donations for refugees of the Spanish civil war.

- A Communist Party election petition.

- Half a Jello boxtop.

- Sketches, supposedly of the implosion bomb and a lens mold detonator "passed on" to the Soviet Union. Philip Morrison, coholder of the Nagasaki bomb patent, swore in 1967 that the sketches were a worthless "caricature."

And the prosecution witnesses?

One was Harry Gold, supposedly a courier for Klaus Fuchs, convicted of espionage in Britain. FBI files now show that descriptions of Fuchs's courier did not match up with Gold.

Gold said of himself: "I had become so tied up in this web of lies, it is a wonder steam didn't come out of my ears."

The star witness was Ethel Rosenberg's brother, David Greenglass. It

was his testimony that convicted the Rosenbergs.

Greenglass had been a low-level machinist at the Los Alamos Atomic Project. Greenglass was confronted by the government with having stolen a sample of uranium. Perhaps this was the club used to drive him against his sister. At first he maintained his innocence of the spying charges but gradually changed his testimony.

The prosecution illegally withheld information about the stolen uranium from the defense. Had it been known, the Rosenbergs' defense could have challenged Greenglass's testimony and shown that he was lying to save himself from other charges.

The FBI papers show that a few months before the trial the government brought Greenglass and Gold together to fix up their testimony. Before that, they had contradicted each other.

The evidence against Ethel Rosenberg was especially weak. In fact, it was nonexistent. As Michael Meeropol described:

"From the minute my father was

Continued on page 23

"These people were killed because they would not lie." W.E.B. DuBois, at their graveside, June 21, 1953



A TRIBUTE TO
ETHEL AND JULIUS ROSENBERG
executed 25 years ago, June 19, 1953

UNITE AGAINST TODAY'S REPRESSION

MONDAY, JUNE 19, 1978
UNION SQUARE

where thousands gathered 25 years ago to
protest their frame-up execution

Special Program 5-9 pm

HEAR the Rosenberg sons—Michael Meeropol and Robert Meeropol, Morton Sobell (Rosenberg co-defendant who spent 19 years in prison), Helen Sobell, plus others and cultural presentations.

ALL DAY COMMEMORATION

For more information: United 25th Anniversary Movement
36 W. 44 Street, NYC 10036 212/391-2684